

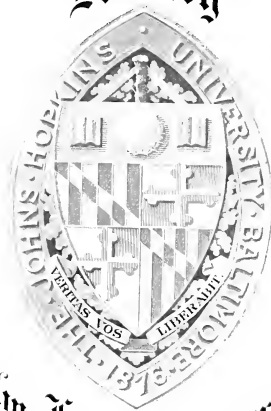


S 1151 02803 8478

MORAVIA
SPEC. COLL.

50735

Library



Johns Hopkins University

M. E. D. E., M. E. L. E.,

T. E. K. E. L.

U. P. H. A. E. S. I. E.

Dissertation.

Presented to the Board of University Studies of the
Johns Hopkins University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

John Dyneley Prince.

1892

C O N T E N T S.

List of Abbreviations. pp. I-III.

Chapter First, pp. 1-10. Introduction.

Chapter Second, pp. 11-67. Translation of the Fifth Chapter of
Daniel, with explanatory and linguistic notes.

Chapter Third, pp. 68-123. Historical Discussion of the Fifth
Chapter of Daniel.

Chapter Fourth. pp. 124-161. The Mysterious Sentence.

Appendix I. pp. 162-181. Translation of the Cyrus Cylinder
and the Annals of Nabonidus.

Appendix II. pp. 182-191. Bibliography of the Most Important
Works relating to the Book of Daniel mentioned or
alluded to in this Dissertation.

Biographical Sketch, pp. 192-193.

-----oo0oo-----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- ABK.--- Eberhard Schrader, Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilschriften, Leipzig 1872.
- ANP.--- Inscription of Asurnacirpal, KE. 1. 17-26.
- AR. GR.---Aramäische Grammatik, Kautzsch. 1883
- ASE.--- Inscription of Sardanapalus, BR. 1-10 ; KE. 2. pp. 66.
- ASKT.--- Haupt, Akkadische & Sumerische Keilschrifttexte.
- AS. --- Delitzsch, Assyrische Studien. 1874
- ASS.--- Assyrian.
- AV.--- Strassmaier, Alphabetisches Worterverzeichniss.
- BA. --- Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
- Bew. d. Gl.--- Beweis des Glaubens.
- BOR.--- The Babylonian and Oriental Record.
- BT.--- Strassmeyer^{meyer}, Babylonische Texte.
- B.z. Erkl. D.B.Dan.--- Weinhold, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel.
- Cyr. Cyl.--- The Cyrus Cylinder.
- D. --- Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies.
- DGR --- Del. Ass. Gr.
- Delattre, Medes--- L'Empire et le peuple des Medes.
- Del. Ass. Gr.--- Delitzsch, Assyrian Grammar.
- Doc. Jur.---Oppert et Menant, Documents Juridiques.
- DP.--- Delitzsch Prolegomena.
- Ex. --- Expedition Scientifique dans Mesopotamie, Jules Oppert Paris, 1859. 2. 1859
- Gott. Gel. Anz.--- Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.

- Bal.--- Delitzsch, The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research, London, 1883.
- Heb.--- Hebraica.
- Her.--- Herodotus.
- HT.--- Askt.
- Is.--- Isaiah.
- Jen. Kosm.--- Jensen, Kosmologie.
- JHUC.--- Johns Hopkins University Circular.
- JRAS.--- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- SAT.--- Schrader, Die Keilinschriften des alten Testaments.
- KB.--- Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. I. II. III.
- KT.--- Abel & Winckler, Keilschrifttexte, Berlin. 1890
- Lop.--- Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie, (Ernst Kuhn)
- Nim. Ep.--- Haupt, Das Nimrou Epos.
- Or.--- De Lagarde, Orientalia.
- Psba.--- Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.
- Oppert Meaes.--- Le Peuple et la Langue des Meaes.
- R (I. II. III. IV.)--- Vols. I. II. III. IV. of Rawlinson's Inscriptions of Western Asia.
- RE.--- Real Encyclopedie.
- San.--- The Prism Inscription of Sennacherib, KOP. pp. 37-42.
- Sarg. Barrel.--- 1F. 36.
- Strm. Nab.--- Strassmaier Nabonidus in Et.
- Strm. Nrk.--- Strassmaier Nebuchadnezzar in Et.

- Strm. Ngl.--- Strassmeyer, ^{maier} Neriglissar in Et.
- Syr. Gr.--- Syriac Grammar.
- Tig.--- Inscription of Tiglatpileser the First. Kbl. 9-16.
- Tsba.--- Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.
- Uag.--- Winckler, Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte. Leipzig, 1889.
- Vers. Mass.--- Marseilles Version.
- Xen. Cyr.--- Xenophon, Cyropædia.
- ZA.--- Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
- Zb.--- Zimmern, Die Babylonischen Bußpsalmen, Leipzig, 1885.
- ZK.--- Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung, 1884-1885.
- ⊖ --- Theodotion.
-

Note 1. Both the Greek and Latin translations have only the
three words Kane, Thekel, Phares in verse 28. See below.

Note 2. Melancthon Comm. A. D. 1543 p. 39 translated
"numeravit." - of Polyglottus Schief of Uppancin (4 D 431)
was evidently regarded the same as the 12 translators translating them as
Σμετῶνεν, ἔσθησεν, Σμετῶνεν. (See A Mac- Script Letter in context below)

Chapter First.

INTRODUCTION.

The story of the Feast of Belshazzar and the mysterious writing "ene, here, Tekel Upharsin" which according to the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel appeared as a warning to the Babylonian monarch is familiar to every reader of the Bible. The enigmatical sentence has always been one of the most puzzling of the very difficult scriptural passages which have excited the interest and baffled the ingenuity of scholars. Indeed up to the present decade really no satisfactory explanation of the problem has been attempted.

The older commentators evidently regarded the three words here, Tekel and Peres or verses 26, 27 and 28 as substantives. Josephus for example translates them (Ant. X. 11. 3.) by ἡμετέρας Συναυσίας Κλίμας; Polydorus by ~~Μέτρον~~ ~~Εὐκαίματος~~ ~~Αἰσχρονομίας~~ and Jerome by "laetas, Appensio, Divisio". Jacob of Bess. explained them by ~~ἡμετέρας~~ = Meissio, divisio.

Among the more modern scholars the opinion has been advanced that ~~ene~~ and ~~here~~ are preterites of the verbs ~~ene~~ to count and ~~here~~ to weigh respectively, and that ~~peres~~ is a plural participle of ~~peres~~ to divide. The translation for verse 26 was accordingly suggested "lucravit, lucravit, Appetit et dividit." The ex-

Note 3. Compare among others Meverick---1832 who explained the form $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{as}$ being caused by analogy with $\text{w}\dot{\text{y}}\text{p}$. Lengerke---1835 p. 261---262 who explains the three words as participles analogous in form to $\text{t}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q}$ ($\text{t}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q}$) --- Chapter 2. 5. 8. Mitzi 1856---p. 84 regarded $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{as}$ as a double pronunciation between $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$ and $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$ (from $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$) containing the double meaning "thou art weighed " and "found too light"; a rather fanciful supposition which was objected to by Kranichfeld 1868---226 the latter considered $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$ not as a pure passive participle, but as a sort of passive preterite which passed to an intransitive $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$ e.g. in $\text{b}\dot{\text{p}}\text{p}$ by assonance with $\text{w}\dot{\text{y}}\text{p}$ (cf. Keil Com. 158 who translated verse 25 "gezählt, gezählt, gewogen 3 in Stücke.")

torit, Mexico: M. M. Bland, 1881, p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

In late years, however, an entirely new light has been thrown on the interpretation of these words by M. Clermont-Ganneau, who, in 1895, published in the Journal Asiatique (série 8. 1. p. 30 ff.) an article entitled "Lane, Thécél, Phécés et le Festin de Balchasar", which appeared in an English translation in the review R. L. pp. 37---12.

M. Ganneau after briefly mentioning some of the principal opinions on the subject, will be noticed below, proceeds at once to the question of interpretation. He calls attention to the fact that the interpretation attributed to Balchil does not agree rigorously with the prophet's designation of the king; i. e. that the interpretation is not the author's.

Note 4. Garneau of course only affirmed positively concerns
in bene and peres. See below.

of the phrase, *šy* *ššl* to refer to the actual translation for the active sentence, no one of which throws any satisfactory light on the meaning. The main point as a dual form *ššl* is problematic, for example, to transfer the *š* from *ššl* to *ššl*, would be then as imperative of *ššl* --- to weigh or translation "for every mina weigh two paras" or "a mina is a mina weigh two paras" or regarding the verb as a preterite "they have weighed two paras" etc., etc. (Levy, p. 96 ff.) The general conclusion at which we arrive is,

that the two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two times or weights of which one is to be taken, placed in relation with a third middle term, which is either a third time or weight (that of shekel) or the verb "to weigh", from which the name of shekel is derived."

This attempt of Mr. Gutschow was followed up by Dr. Leo Oppenheim in *ZA* 1, 414---418. Accepting De Sèze's discovery that the phrase in Daniel 5 contains traces of weights as an unit (p. 414) that *ššl* and *ššl* should correspond to the principal forms, according to the idea of a number or to other commentators, he explains the words *ššl*, *ššl* as being equal to substantives in the absolute state. He then suggests that the word for *ššl* is derived from the root *ššl* to state, law, order like *ššl* --- *ššl*. It is to be noted that

Note 5. This par^anomasia was noticed also by Wertholdt 389
and Lengerke 262.

plain the property relative to the role of the person. It is
 certainly safe to say that our team arrived at the conclusion of this subject. In the last paragraph the whole scene of Chapter 6 both to a vignette from the Egyptian look
 of the head and to the scene after found of Assyrian seal-cylinders, representing a god seated on a throne holding a scepter for li-
 abio s---a ca. 1200 B.C. inscription of the seal and two per-
 sons one of who presents the other to the god. Baglot and
 apt to be difficult by some influence the author of the inscription
 description of the feast of this person!

oldest attempt to explain the very practical expli-
 cation of the word, at Hoffmann (p. 46) to divide that word,
 two different references to a division between the sea and the
 the great Cyrus.

In the session of the Semitic Society of Johns Hopkins Uni-
 versity of the year '86--'87 Prof. Baglot presented the fol-
 lowing translation and interpretation of the mysterious scene:
 "The scene is a scene of a god seated on a throne holding a scepter
 following the suggestion of the scene of a god seated on a throne
 holding a scepter, the scene of a god seated on a throne, the
 authority successor of the great Baglot is the scene of a
 and the scene is referred to the division of the scene between the

Note 6. For a collection of the opinions of the older commentators compare Pfeiffer, *Dubia* ex 503, quoted Pertholat p. 350. Also Bugati---Exposition des Johannes Constantinopolitan p. 57.

Note 7. Cf. Juxtorff *Lexicon Pabb. Talm.* 248 and Levy Chald. Vort. under $\gamma\text{-}\beta\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ --- $\gamma\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}$ --- $\kappa\alpha\alpha\text{-}$ (quoted Garneau p. 88.) For the opinion that the sentence was a cryptogram compare Pfeiffer

op. cit. 805. It is interesting to notice from the Ethiopic correspondence of Job Ludolf that a similar cryptographic method of writing, depending on the interchange of letters was known to the Abyssirians. (Compare La II. 110---Flemming.)

ote 8. Compare Garneau op. cit. 88.

ote 9. Compare Levy par. 5 under "178"

ote 10. Quoted Bertholdt 350.

wise. There is no consideration of the fact that the three initial letters of each word were written.

There are others of this time (quoted Bartholot, Daniel 351) who held that the writing may have been in one of the usual characters as to prevent its decipherment by the micro-graphicists. Bartholot 379 suggested that it may have been written in some characteristic handwriting. (Kurrentschrift) It is worthy of record in this connection that such a great scholar as J. B. Michalidis is the author of the following wild but amusing theory. He translated the expression "end of the hard" (see below) by "the inner surface of the hard." That is, the hard must have appeared to the decipherer writing from the other side of the wall, which by some mysterious means became transparent! The writing was therefore reversed as if in a mirror, which fact no one noticed until Daniel was summoned, who promptly read it off. (Bar. Michalidis 43---44; also Bartholot 35---351.)

Some scholars believed that the inscription was written in Persian or some other character. This view is quoted by Bartholot 379. He suggested also that it was written in a secret code, but that it may have been written in a secret script.

Recent writers have inclined to the opinion that the inscription is a very ancient record of the fall of the city of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

acter. So for instance Andrea in his article on the feast of
Lelshazar (Mex. A. 41.---88 p. 263---264) and de la Harpe in his
valuable review of L. Huet---La nouveauté des conceptions, in Litté-
rail. 4. 384. This theory will be discussed at length in a fol-
lowing chapter.

The question as to the difficulty of decipherment the nar-
rows down to one of two hypotheses. Either the mysterious se-
quence appeared in an unusual form of the vernacular or is a foreign
language.

The object of the following essay is to submit the entire
question regarding the portent to a new examination, which may
perhaps lead to a more correct understanding of the enigmatical
sentence. In order to investigate the subject as thoroughly as
possible, it will be necessary to study the whole fifth Chapter of
Daniel from a historical standpoint and with this object in view
and for greater convenience it may be well to present a transla-
tion of the chapter with brief explanatory and philological notes.

ote. The letters refer to the additional philological
notes.

Chapter Second.

Translation of the fifth chapter of Daniel.

Verse 1.--- elshazzar the King, gave a great feast to a thousand of his lords and in the presence of the thousand drank wine.

note 1. elshazzar identical with Belshazzar, the son of abonius the last king of babilon. See below.

note 2. At such a feast the king would probably sit facing his lords at a separate table.---cf. 1 Sam. 20, 25. where the king sat during his meal on a seat by the wall, and in this connection also figure 33. in Paulen's Assyrien & Babylonien p. 54, represents an Assyrian king taking his meal surrounded by his servants and protected by the gods.

According to Athenaeus---Deipnosoph. lib. 4, 419, on the authority of Heraclides of Tuma (Pusey Daniel 383 note 2.) This was also the custom of the Persian kings at festivals. (cf. v. Leierke p. 243.) Posidorius (100 . . .)---the Fifth B. v. in Athen. 4, 38, quoted Pusey l. c.--- gives the same account of the Parthians.

"In the presence of---before, facing them. Cf. Strabo 11. 1. It is not necessary to translate by "Prociore" with Barthol. 384,avernick 174 etc.

verse 2.--- elshazzar commanded, being under the influence of the wine, to bring the vessels of gold and silver which ebu- chadnezzar his father had taken from the Temple which was in Jerusalem; in order that the king and his wives and concubines might drink out of them.

Note. The Author evidently regarded this as a terrible profanation (see verse 23.) Havernick's strange idea (p. 176.) that elshazzar wished to honor Jehovah by using the sacred vessels finds no confirmation in the text. That the vessels were not sent for until the king was well in his cups seems to show that the Author wished to represent the command as a drunken whim.

These vessels were brought to Babylon by ebu- chadnezzar at the time of the first capture of Jerusalem (597) in the reign of Je- choniah (1 Kings 24. 18) and were restored by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, along with the return of the Jewish exiles (Ezra 1. 7 ff.)

verse 3.---Then they brought the vessels of gold which they had taken away from the Temple of the House of God, which is in Jerusalem, and the king and his wives and concubines drank out of them.

ote 1. The wife of the king who held the revel on quest was chosen. The Assyrians and Babylonians usually selected the first son. (Helitsen-Müller, Gesch. 116.) As it is well known that the greatest freedom of life prevailed at Babel there is nothing incongruous in the statement that women were present at feasts. According to Tertius 4. 1. they were admitted to drinking bouts. "ec concetricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comites habetur vulgati coporis vilitas." It is interesting to note in this connection that Xenophon, Cyr. 5. 28, mentions the presence of a concubine at a revel of the last king of Babylon. (Pusey, Ariel 382, note 2.)

Regarding the Persian customs in this matter accounts vary. According to Josephus it does not seem to have been proper for women to be seen by strangers. (cf. Ant. 11. 6. 1., referring to Esther 1. 10---12; the refusal of Ashti to obey the king's command to present herself before him and his lords.) On the other hand, if the record of Esther can be trusted thus far, the Queen Consort seems to have been able to invite men high in rank to dine with her and the king. (Esther 5.) In Herodotus too (1. 10) it is stated that not only the concubines, but also the young wives were accustomed to be present at Persian feasts. Plutarch asserts (sympos. 11) that concubines were allowed at feasts but not

wives. (see *Augustine* vol. 388 note 2.) This statement is applied to the *Septuagint* by *Jerobius* 7. 11. (edited *Thierich* 1861.) Compare also *Justin* 41. 3, cited *Augustine* 1. c.

It is worthy of notice that the *Septuagint* makes no mention of the presence of the women in this passage of *Jerobius*. *Thierich*, 388, thought that the translator deliberately omitted it as being repugnant to his ideas of propriety.

Note 2. Verse 3 is a good example of the repetition of the narrative style. One codex omits it altogether. See *Thierich* 388, note 4.

Verse 4.---They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, brass, iron, wood and stone.

Verse 5.---It was that same moment when forth appeared on a man's hand and wrote opposite the chandelier on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace; and the king saw the hand which wrote.

Note 1. Opposite the light where the writing could be best easily seen.

There is a double Greek translation of verses 1, 4 and 5 for

the variants, see also Daniel p. 500.) In this verse the words written on the wall are transferred from verse 20, and the following interpretation is given. "ane---it is ane; nes---it is taken away, and shekel---it is weighed." (see note to verse 19.)

Note 5. A plain stucco work or single painted plaster. In the ruins of the palace of Nimroud a thin coating of painted plaster was discovered by Layard, (ineveh---2. 203---Paulen---Assyrien 2. Babylonien 262. 52. 193.) the colors of which when first discovered were still fresh and brilliant. The interior of later Babylonian houses was frequently painted, on the lower half of the wall were in figures, but above ornamentally. (Peber---1. 303.) That plaster mixed with ashes was used for mortar is evident from the ruins of Ur (Wachter.), but it is probably a later development. (Peber op. cit. 145.)

Plaster seems to have been known also in Palestine. Josephus Ant. 1. 5. 2. describing Solomon's palace---"but the outer part up to the roof was plastered over, and it was, as I said, adorned with colors and pictures."

The word of Belshazzar is represented by the author to be a room or hall, and not necessarily a chamber. (see note 17) or pavilion (Daniel 1/1.) Daniel 1/1. part of a palace.

thought it was I that had brought out the palace.

...and his face was pale as death and his throat terrified him, and the joints of his hips were loose and he was knocked out against the other.

etc 1. Some of the interpretations of the other commentators are very grotesque. Eretius and Aldonate translated "*Uima delectat*." It may be interpreted in this connection to compare the previous passage of the prison inscription of Serrac erio. Column 3. l. 26. 21; "Itarraku libbusun sin-atišun ugarraḥu kirib narkabatišunu umassiru niḥuṣun.

They said of him that they would have him with them, and they would have him with them, and they would have him with them.

Eretius thought that the passage in Ariel referred to an "evil" from fear. (quoted Avernick 184) or the expression

of violent emotions of fear see Ezekiel 21. 12; and a similar expression in the Hebrew text of the Bible, e.g. in the book of Isaiah, chapter 34, verse 13, and in the book of Jeremiah, chapter 40, verse 10.

Compare also the expression in the Hebrew text of the Bible, e.g. in the book of Isaiah, chapter 34, verse 13, and in the book of Jeremiah, chapter 40, verse 10.

...and they would have him with them, and they would have him with them, and they would have him with them.

etc 2. The quotation ends "with him" --- one against the other, but another version has "with him" --- one against the other.

verse 7.--- he called with a loud voice to summon the
magicians, the palmers and the oroscopists. The king spoke
and said to the wise men of Babylon that any man who could read
this writing and show its interpretation should wear scarlet and
a chain of gold upon his neck, and should rule as third in rank
in the kingdom.

note 1. It is a common error to consider the name Chaldean
as synonymous with "Babylonian" or even "old Babylonian." The Chal-
daeans were clearly in ancient times a people quite distinct from
the inhabitants of Babylon. Their exact origin is extremely
uncertain. It may be conjectured with Winckler (Ung. 45) judg-
ing from the Semitic character of their proper names that they were
a Semitic people, or with Jensen (see Lehmann---Gassman, p.
170) that they were "Semitised Sumerians" i. e. a non-Semitic race
which by contact with Semitic influences had lost its original
character. It seems probable that they came first from the
south at a very early date along the coast of the Persian Gulf.
(For the old opinion of Cassinus, Herodotus, Megasthenes, that the
Chaldei came from Persia and Parthia, see Lehmann---Gassman, p. 170.)
They were settled in the region of the Tigris (Lehmann---Gassman, p. 170.)
They began a series of appointments in the kingdom of Babylon

proper name after a long series of names, which are suppressed under abopolassar and his successors. (See also abopolassar and his successors, see Tiele op. cit. III : "Inckler op. cit. III : 11. and for the history of the rise and development of the Chaldean power compare Tiele 65. 207. 211. 286. 287. 362. 382. "Inckler op. cit. pp. 1-7---84. Delattre, Les Chaldéens Paris 1877.)

The peculiar use of the name Chaldeans in this passage of Daniel to denote a class of magician or priest is, as Reinhold remarked (l. z. Erkl. u. d. Dan. 28) late. The term Chaldeans is used also by Herodotus to denote the priestly class of Babylonia, from whom he got his historical information. This transfer of the name of the people to a special class is probably to be explained in the following manner.

The sudden rise of the Assyrian Empire under the Chaldean rule of Sennacherib, son of Abopolassar, tended to produce so thorough an amalgamation of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, who had hitherto been racially distinct, that in the course of time no perceptible differences existed between the two peoples. The name Chaldean however lived on in the restricted sense already mentioned and for the following reason. The Chaldeans seized and held from most ancient times the region of Nineveh, the centre of the non-Semitic culture. (See also op. cit. 174.) It

1. The Queen here must mean the wife of the king, as is evident from the context. It is not to be understood, however, as a necessary consequence that the wives of the king were all of the same rank, and that the tone of command which the Author takes here is intended to show that he considered her not the wife but the mother of Belshazzar. That the Queen-Dowager was meant is the opinion of the majority of the older commentators. Compare Langebek 112, Kuenenfeld 111, Havnick 101, Jahn, Archæol. 2. 1. 217. Fossumiller 1. 1. 66. Langstenberg 47. 318. Ephraim Syr. and Theodoret 1. 116 etc. More recently also J. D. Michaelis and Schenkiel believe that the wife of the king was meant. Josephus, Ant. 10. 3. 1, thought that it was the king's grandmother. (See below chapter 3. p. 11.)

The Queen-Dowager was a powerful and important personage in ancient times. (See 2 Chron. 16. 1. 1 Kings 1. 10.) As at present she ruled during the minority of the king, and acted as his mother and advisor, voice in the management of the government. In modern times as was the case in ancient Egypt the Queen-Dowager is not so much respected in political affairs. Among the ancient Queen-Dowagers cannot be forgotten the king's mother, who was. (Cf. 2 Chron. 1. 1.)

It is not to be understood, however, that the Queen-Dowager was always the mother of the king. Thus, in the case of the

[illegible]

169.-- It is not so much to have been freedom for kings to change the names of their vassals. Compare 2 Kings 23. 17, where the name of Mattaniah, the uncle of Jeconiah was changed by Nebuchadnezzar to Zedekiah, and 2 Chron. 28. 1, where Necho king of Egypt changed the name of Eliakim, brother of Jehoshaz to Jehoiakim. Jehoiakim son of Jehoiakim was also called Jeconiah (1 Chron. 3. 16.) and Coniah (Jer. 22. 21.)

In Assyria we may compare in this connection the case of
Tiglath-pileser I (745-727 B. C.) who reigned in Nineveh as
Tiglath-pileser and in Babylon under the name Pulu,---the Bible call
him Pul. Shalmaneser I also (722-705 B. C.) was called in Babylon
Ushur. (Ushurios) but in Assyria Shalmaneser.

Verse 13.-- "Thou David was brought in before the King and
said: 'I am one and said; so that the David of the sons of
David of Judah, the son of the father of the father of Judah.'

10. The relative pronoun *quod* "which" is used directly, as the Vulgate has it. The relation could also be expressed by *quod* "that" or *quod* "because".

These are--- I say, heard concerning these that he spoke
 of. There is in thee and that enlightenment and understanding
 and extraordinary skill at work in thee.

Note 1. The Author gives the Prophecy time to examine and read the writings and the speech of the king. Compare the Septuagint " ἵνα ἴδῃς τὰς ἀποφάσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀνέγνῃς καὶ ἀκούῃς τὰς ἀποφάσεις τοῦ βασιλέως."

Verse 17.--- O, king, the most high God gave a kingdom and greatness and glory and might unto Nebuchadnezzar thy father.

Note 1. " O, king." Really "thou O king,"--- nominative absolute as in chapter 1. 24, 30. 32.

Note 2. Notice the contrast so strongly emphasized in these verses 17-20, between the great Nebuchadnezzar and his insignificant successor. The point is, that if Nebuchadnezzar the great king suffered such punishment for his pride from the Most High, how much more than Belshazzar who was unliberal in attributing the God of the heavens by the profane use of His sacred vessels.

Verse 18.--- And on account of the madness wherewith he was afflicted, all peoples, nations and languages were trembling and feared him. Whosoever he would he killed and whomsoever he would he kept alive; and whomsoever he would he exalted and whomsoever he would he brought low.

Verse 10--- From his heart was kindled a fierce spirit,
and with pride, he was hurried from the throne of his kingdom,
and they took his glory from him.

Verse 11,--- And he was cast out from the dwelling of
men and his reason was made like to the beasts and his dwelling
was with the herds. They fed him grass like oxen and his body
was moist with the dew of the heavens, until he discover that
the Most High God is ruler over the kingdom of men, and thenceforward
he will be appointed over it.

Note 1. The usual translation is "with asses." The Septuagint has "ἐν τῷ ἄσπυ" from the Aramaean אֲסֻי, or אֲסֻי. It seems preferable to read אֲסֻי ---herds. (This suggestion has been advanced by Prof. Harnack in his lectures, and is mentioned by J. D. Michaelis, Comm. 51, as being the reading of an old codex). The reading "with asses" makes no sense, as no one could call a man of his age a wild ass, stiffest denizens of the desert.

Note 2. For this legend see Lucian's *Macrauzas*, § 14, p. 120, ed. Friedberg gives an account which bears some resemblance to the biblical story. It is found in a version from the writings of Apuleius which has been traced to its source. The latter was said to have been taken from a Greek

Verse 11.--- Then the Lord said, "I will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow." All eyes.

Verse 12.--- Then the Lord said, "I will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow." The vessels of his house were silver and gold; and the Lord said, "I will be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow." The vessels of his house were silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor move; but the Lord in those days had not yet made all his paths, and the Lord had not honored.

Verse 13. Compare Psalm 115. 1. 14. "They have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they but they see not. They have ears but they hear not, neither is there an understanding in them."--- also Psalm 115. 4. 11.

Verse 14. Compare Jerusalem Targum 10. 14. $\text{וְהָיָה לָהֶם אֵינִי וְלֹא יָדָעוּ אֵינִי}$ $\text{וְהָיָה לָהֶם אֵינִי וְלֹא יָדָעוּ אֵינִי}$

Verse 15.--- Then the hand was sent forth from him, and this writing was engraved.

Verse 16.--- Septuagint "So it is" and Vulgate "So it is" no quite exact. It is "non" not "therefore". Compare S. 16. 16.

Verse 20.--- And this is the writing which was written ;
to be counted a mina, a shekel and a half-mina.

Note 1. The mina alludes to Nebuchadnezzar the great
Babylonian monarch and the real founder of the Empire. The she-
kel, one-sixtieth as valuable points to the insignificant Belshaz-
zar, while the two half-minas refer to the double nation the Greeks
and Persians, who shall divide between them the power of Nebuchad-
nezzar. For this translation and interpretation see above p. 7
and below chapter 2 for full discussion.

Both the Greek and Latin translations in the reproduction of
the mysterious sentence in verse 20 read only the three words
"Mene, Thekel, Peres", omitting one ~~word~~ and disregarding both the
conjunction η and the plural form of $\mu\iota\alpha$. This reading may have
been due to the influence of verses 24, 27 and 28 where only a
single "Mene" and the singular form "Peres" are mentioned with $\mu\iota\alpha$
as strictly necessary to the interpretation. The Syriac ver-
sion alone has kept the received text. $\text{ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ}$

It is interesting to notice that the Septuagint, in this res-
pect in this point with the version of Theodotius, has transferred
the words to verse 5 (see note) and changed their order, reading ;
 $\text{ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ}$. It seems probable that the copist of the
original manuscript, from which this translation was made, under-

Note 1. Annals 2. 2. also Cyrus Cylinder 10. See appendix. The revolt of the Median troops against Astyages is probably recorded in the passage referring to the events of the sixth year of Nabonidus. The passage is mutilated.

Note 2. Compare O.R. 61. c. I. 20. where Cyrus is referred to as an insignificant vassal of Astyages. "Ardu çaxri" for Anšín see additional notes to chapter 4.

as follows: the members of Teisshum (p. 61, p. 111.) And even in the latter case, even if to be accepted that scholars as present themselves with regard to the language of the Medes.

- A. All Medes spoke Aryan.
- b. All Medes spoke an Aryan-Turanian mixed language.
- C. All Medes spoke Turanian.
- D. The Aryan Medes spoke Aryan, the Turanian spoke Turanian.

In answer to the first two suppositions it must be stated, that the language of the inscriptions of the second sort is clearly neither Aryan nor a mixed idiom, for example, like modern Turkish, while the theory that all Medes spoke "Turanian" is made untenable by the statements, referred to above, of the ancient authors, who evidently regarded the Median language as Aryan. The fact too that the Medes played such an important part in Persian history and were for such a long time so closely and prominently connected with the latter people, could hardly have been the case had they been a totally distinct Turanian race. In the latter instance, while considerable influence might have been exercised by an entirely alien people, such a complete assimilation and identification of interests as appear between the Medes and Persians could hardly be expected. The fact of a common language, however, need

the standards, such a designation.

As to the last part of the first set of Aramaean and part "Turanian", even if this were so, it would have no reason to call the language of the "Turanian" peoples "Median", as this term was applied by custom to an Aramaean speech. To do so, would be to start a confusion of names similar to that suggested by Weissbach (p. 11.) He asserts quite rightly, that to call a "Turanian" language "Median" would be an error like calling the language of the Germans residing in Bohemia "Bohemian," a term which is only applied to the idiom of the Czechs; the true Bohemians.

In addition to this however, there is no reason for supposing, that the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort is that of "Turanian" peoples at all. (See for full discussion "Weissbach" p. 11 ff.)

If, as seems necessary, the Modes must be removed as not belonging to the Aryans, to what people then are the non-Aryan, non-Semitic Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort to be ascribed. Here M. Delattre seems to have found the answer in his solution of the problem.

He advances the view that because according to Herodotus (Hists. 1) and Strabo (Psal. vi. 1. 1. 11.) the so-called "Median" of the Achaemenian inscriptions was identical with the Elamite of Strabo.

language, the use of the second language in documents from the Elamites. As a number of Persian loan-words (Harmant-Lattes Assyr. t. I. p. 117--118. Delattre p. 117) are found in the Achaemenian dialect, he further concluded that the people who spoke it must have been for some time closely connected with Persian influences. (See Delattre p. 41.) The identification of both these conditions he finds in the natives of Anšan, the hereditary state of Cyrus; i. e. he believes that the second Achaemenian language was the Elamitic dialect of Anšan; (For Anšan and its language compare Weissbach--Die Anzanischen Inschriften 1891.), a theory which certainly deserves consideration, in that the language of Anšan as the vernacular of the nucleus of the Persian Empire might rank directly after Persian and before Babylonian.

As our knowledge of the language of old Elam however, does not yet permit a translation of the cuneiform inscriptions in that tongue, it seems impossible at present to make any definite statements concerning Elamitic dialects. Then too, the fact that the Achaemenian second language and the Elamitic are quite distinct although allied languages increases the difficulty. In this connection however, the great difference in time between the Achaemenian inscriptions of the second sort and the ancient documents of Susiana or Elam must not be forgotten. It is not probable that

the inscription of Mal-Amir are to be divided into two groups,--- the one written in characters closely allied to the Assyrian, while the second line, the inscriptions of Mal-Amir, present a later form which is closely akin to that of the Achaemenian records of the second sort. According to Weissbach (Achem. Inschr. 2. Art. p. 11.) it is possible to demonstrate, from a number of facts that this form of the Achaemenian inscriptions, originally derived from the Assyrian characters is a later development from the form found in the monuments of Mal-Amir. Weissbach refers in this connection to the list of characters given by Sayce in the transactions of the sixth International Oriental Congress.

All that can be asserted at present however, seems to be that the three great languages of the Persian Empire were Persian, the idiom of the second sort, and Babylonian. The second language may be a later form of the old Elamitic or Sasan, containing a number of Aramæan loanwords obtained through long intercourse with Aramæans,---i. e. the Medes and Persians. This is precisely the opinion of Weissbach (op. cit. p. 11) who calls the Achaemenian dialect "Old Sasan" and remarks that "the language is essentially identical in character with the language of the inscriptions of the Persian Kings,---i. e. Darius, Xerxes, and Artabanus,---and of Sasan or Elamæan Kings,---i. e. Sargon and Sennacherib,---the latter

in the end.

The explanation of the gradual evidence of the Persian name seems to begin with the Medes in the course of time amalgamated and became practically identical with the Persian Persians, the name Persian came to be used in place of Medes. In fact the latter name under the Sassanians seems to have disappeared entirely. (Deland, p. 101.) It was perfectly natural for the Persians allied peoples speaking practically the same language and probably intermixing should and by becoming one and that the name of the dominant race should prevail.

Verses 17-19.--- Then Belshazzar gave orders to clothe Daniel in scarlet and a chain of gold on his neck and that the should proclaim, which concerning him that he be taken care in the kingdom.

Notes.--- It is not clear from the text of this verse whether the Author meant to convey that the precedences for all prisoners in Daniel's court, or is a reference to a special precedence for Daniel. (Compare Revelation 101, London 1911, ed.) It seems to me to translate "Belshazzar gave orders that the should be clothed in scarlet and a chain of gold on his neck and that he should proclaim, which concerning him that he be taken care in the kingdom." or "Belshazzar gave orders that the should be clothed in scarlet and a chain of gold on his neck and that he should proclaim, which concerning him that he be taken care in the kingdom."

essential, dependent on the various "accidents" of the death of the person involved in the infliction of the crime. In view of the frequent co-ordination of sentences in Aramæan in cases where the subordinate character of an element is apparent, the latter translation seems preferable. (See Kraussch Aramæan Grammar par. 101.) The idea that the sentence was given directly was held by Jerome who rendered; "non illi nisi b. Andriæ tristis solverit præmium quæ polletis est. At enim longe post tempus credidit ventura quæ dixerit aut um Dei Prophetam honorat spiritus veniam consecratum." Compare also Zöckler Daniel. 11.

Verse 10.--- In the same night as Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain.

Verse 11.--- And Daniel the Babylonian received the kingdom, being sixteen years old.

Note.--- Daniel the Babylonian probably never existed. The application of the name here to the conqueror of Babylon may have been due to a confusion with Daniel's history. (See note on the first section.)

ADDITIONAL LINGUISTIC NOTES.

-----oOo-----

VERSE 1. (a) Belshazzar -- Belšaruṣur "Bel preserve the King"
cf. among others A. A. I. 433 (Schrader) & Fried. Delitzsch (Baer &
Delitzsch Dan. Ezra & Neh. p. x.) Similar names are Marduk-šaruṣur
Nergal-šar-uṣur & Sin-šar-uṣur (for the latter of ZA II.101.)
Previous to the discovery of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions
most commentators identified it with "Belteshazzar" - an error
which dates from ancient times, as the Greek translators evidently
regarded the two names as the same, representing both by the form
• Βαλτασαζ•.

J. D. Michaelis (quoted Havernick (172) defended the reading
שׂאדִיָּא (found Dan. VII. 1, & VIII. 1.) Hitzig regarded this
form as evidence that the "שׂדִיָּא" was an abbreviation of the rela-
tive "שׂדִיָּא". Among the Jewish Commentators, Sa'adia derived the
name from שׂדִיָּא to search & שׂדִיָּא - because the King had to search
for the vessels in the "שׂדִיָּא":

For various obsolete opinions as to the derivation of the
name, cf. Havernick 172 ; V. Lengerke 242, Kranichfeld, 65, etc.

The name of the Persian Commissioner (acc. to some of Zerub-
babel) found in Ezra 1, 8, Sheshbazzar, may be a formation like
Bel-šar-uṣur. A number of variants occur in the Greek versions,
i.e. in the translation of Ezra "Σησβαζάρης". Σησβαζάρης
Σααβαζάρης, Σααβαζάρης; in 1st Esdras. Σααβαζάρης

and in Josephus "Ass. 10". The ending -- "Ass." ("common to all" (in Samaritan) the ending is clearly the Greek termination) would seem to indicate that it is a name in -- ucur perhaps a corruption of Samas -- sum - ucur - S. protected the name?

(b) ~~Ass. 10~~ cf. Eccles. 10, 19: Gen. 21, 8.

(c) ~~Ass. 10~~ really a double plural, i.e. with reduplication and ending - an. The word is common in the Targums, where it occurs in the forms, ~~Ass. 10~~ and ~~Ass. 10~~ - for examples see Levy - Chald. Wörterbuch. cf. ^SLyriac ~~Ass. 10~~ etc. Nöldeke Syr. Gr. 1, 146. For a list of nouns in Lyriac forming their plural in - an cf. op. cit. 1, 74. Kautzsch Aramean Gr. p. 110 & p. 114 might, as Nöldeke remarked, (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1884 p. 1020) have stated a little more explicitly that the double formations ~~Ass. 10~~ etc., cannot occur in the singular any more than the simple forms ~~Ass. 10~~ can form a plural (with the exception of a few special cases.)

(d) ~~Ass. 10~~ -- before (~~Ass. 10~~ cf. Ar.) ^S- receive) Ass. ina maxru - before, in the presence of, is an exactly equivalent expression. maxaru -- be in front of; go to meet, i.e. as an enemy, to try to get ahead of a rival, hence "maxiru"-rival; and finally--to hasten cf. mitxariš -- swiftly; see Delitzsch A. S. 124/125 for the development of this word's meanings.

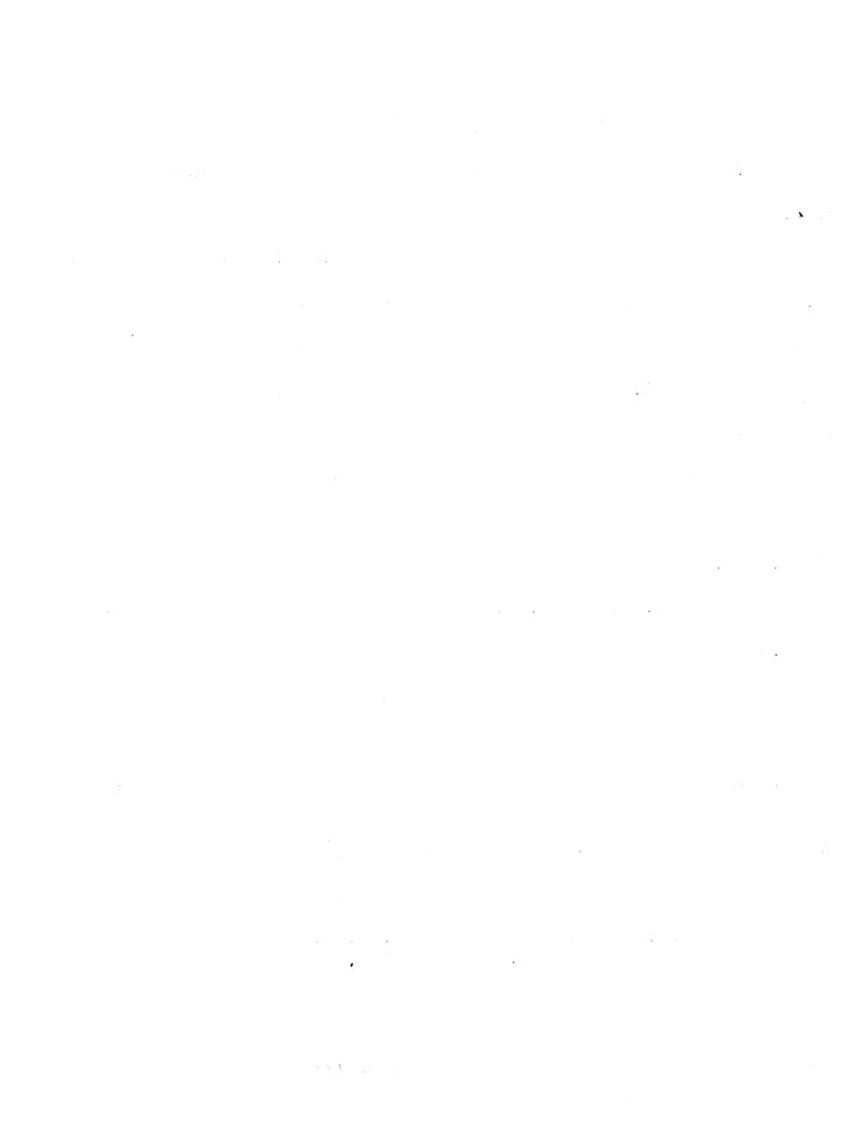


equivalent usage of "ana" - to, for in later Assyrian may be compared. For full references, see Bezold Acham. Inschr. p. 49. n. 3.

(c) 𒌷𒍪 = the legitimate wife - see v. 45. 10 - used in Neh. II. 6 of the Queen. According to Bar'Ali (cf. Payne Smith p. 542 top. under 𒌷𒍪 = Venus) the star Venus was called by the Babylonians " 𒌷𒍪𒀭𒂊𒍪 ". 𒌷𒍪 was evidently a synonym, therefore, of 𒌷𒍪 = beltu = lady - a name of Istar.

Hesychius also gives the form " $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\alpha\tau$ " = Dilbat as the Babylonian name of Istar-Venus as the morning star. (Lehmann Samassumu-hin p. 125.) Dilbat seems to mean "the announcer" of morning or evening - see II. 7, 37, g. b. dil-bat, - Nabû - tell, announce. In II. 48, 51 the star Dilbat is mentioned in the same paragraph with Sin (the moon) and Šamaš (the Sun). For the goddess Istar in her capacity as morning and evening star, see Delitzsch-Mürdter Gesch. p. 29, and for the name of the place Dilbat cf. 𒌷𒍪 119.

5. (a) 𐤐𐤕𐤕 - Vulg. apparuerunt. The q're 𐤐𐤕𐤕 is unnecessary. Nor is there any need of reading 𐤐𐤕𐤕 - fem. pl. according to an old Codex (118.K.) - (cf. Bertholdt 368. n. 5.) The semitic construction does not require that the verb and subject should always agree. As to the possible survival of a feminine pl. of the Perfect in Hebrew see Peters Heb. III. No. 2. ///. That u & a were



respectively the masculine and feminine 3d person plural endings of the perfect is quite probable if the existence of a perfect in primitive semitic be granted; more than this, however it is very difficult to assert (cf. in this connection the remarks of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Heb. III. n.4. 268.) If לְהַאֲרִיב be read the subject " לְהַאֲרִיב " must be conceived of as an abstract, agreeing with the verb in the fen. singular, as do the broken plurals in Arabic.

(b) לְהַאֲרִיב - לְהַאֲרִיב - Derivation uncertain. cf. Syr. ܠܗܝܪܝܒ - flame, lantern - (from which the Denominative ܠܗܝܪܝܒ - illuminate) - Ar. لهرىب .

The Jer. Gemara translates לְהַאֲרִיב using the Greek word. (b) לְהַאֲרִיב also translates "lamp" cf. Levy Chald. wört.) According to Reshi לְהַאֲרִיב is syn. of לְהַאֲרִיב used of the great branching candlestick of the Tabernacle cf. Ex. 25, 31 ff. I K. 7, 49 etc. The Targum to Zeph. 1, 12, translates לְהַאֲרִיב by לְהַאֲרִיב .

In this passage of Dan. V. the Syriac Version has ܠܗܝܪܝܒ - "Vulg." contra candelabrum, Theod. " $\text{κατέσβετο τῆς λαμπτήρος}$ " Vers. Marc. " $\text{ἐσβένθη τὸ λαμπτήρ}$ " etc. " $\text{κατέσβετο τὸ λαμπτήρ}$ " and in the Hebrew translation " לְהַאֲרִיב ".

All authorities seem agreed that the word is of foreign origin. cf. Bickell Ephr. Carm. Nisib. 53 (quoted Ges-Lex.) where a derivation from the sanscrit ni-bhrag - illuminate is suggested.

This is as unsatisfactory as the attempt of Pernstein (Lexicon) to derive it from *שָׁרַח* - shine *שָׁרַח* - fire, or that of Sa'adia from *שָׁרַח* - light that shines throughly all the year - of Bible Commentary 304.

A Persian derivation (Fränkel *Fremdwörter*- 96) is hardly admissible because the original Persian word has not yet been found, (cf. also Guidi *Alfabeto Persiano* p. 3.) That the Arabic from *شَرَحَ* belongs to the older language is seen from Nabh. 27, 21: *شَرَحَ*. IV. 737, 7.

No satisfactory etymology seems possible at present.

(c) *שָׁרַח* plaster-lime. (cf. Buxtorff Lexicon. 425, for the Rabbinical Definition "*שָׁרַח* *שָׁרַח*" species terrae denigrantis.) The word is probably cognate with Ass. *qiru* - pitch, mortar. (cf. Haupt Nim. Ep. 137, l. 66. The Deluge, "attabak ena *qîri*" - "I poured out for caulking or pitching." There is probably some connection with the Arabic *شَرَحَ* - pitch, according to the theory of Prof. Haupt K. A. T. 516, in spite of Jensen's doubt (Kosm. 410) about the meaning of the word, Lagarde Mittheil IV. 364, connects it with Turkish *şır* - fuller's earth. The ideogram which is found in the above passage of the Deluge with the variant "Ki - i - ri" is explained in the syllabary S. 94.

(d) *שָׁרַח* - wall. St. Emph. *שָׁרַח* - Ezra 5, 8. - cf. Kautzsch Ar. Gr. 6. 54, e. cf. Assyrian, "Kutallu" - side (San. VI. 28:



I. 44, 55: IV. 52, 20: II. 48, 50.)

(a) ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ - The end of the arm - the hand, the fingers and knuckles in distinction to the arm. ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ. "Vulg. articulos manus". Sa'adia on v. 24 ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ. "ܐܬܐ may be used of the surface of the hand or foot alike. (cf. Syr. ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ - bent hand or foot-) Cf. Syriac I K. 18, 44. ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ. Deut 28, 35- ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܝܕܐ.

VERSE 6. (a) ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ - VI= face, complexion- hue:

Theod. & Vulg. both translate by "figure," Not from the Persian (Nöld. Mandæan Grammar XXXI.) but cognate with Assyrian Zimū-face (explained by Sak-ki. surface of the head (V. 31, 14) cf. Jensen Z.K. II. 43, 2: Zb. 108: D.P. 153-. For the interchange of "m" and "n" cf. Z.A. II. 273; 267. - Haupt.

(b) ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ - The Termination has the force of a Dative as already Kranichfeld, 217, saw. It is not the use of the suffix to express the pronoun and preposition (Kautzsch Aram. Gr. I, 89. 2. as in v. 9. -- 'ܐܬܐ ܕܝܕܐ) nor is it reflexive (Leng. 248.) The use of the suffix to express the Dative relation occurs possibly in Assyrian in such a connection as H. T. 80, 18 "ina isinni šaknuš" "at the feast made for him" probably also in H. T. 80, 14. "Adar šarru mārū šā abušū ana ruqetim appa ušalbinušū. A "the King, the Son, before whom his Father makes (them) worship far and wide."

to
It is difficult to know if the suffix has a real dative force in cases like "amatum ubakki" IV. 30, 7. "I made the word come to thee "ina biti â erubšu" H. T. 93, 21, -- "may it not come into the house to him."

H. T. 81, 14, "lummidsu" may I erect to him, etc.

V. 7. ܐܪܥܐ - cf. An. pašaru- loosen, free, IV. R. 56, 23; I. 50 18 - Ar. ܐܪܥܐ - Šuttu pašaru = "interpret a dream." cf. H. T. 205; Šunata pašaru. Nim Ep. 6, 44, cf. ܐܪܥܐ - Eccles. VIII. 1. The Hebrew form "פִּירְשָׁה" = "interpretation" must be a loan word from some dialect where the "ו" was lisped as "ו" - cf. Haupt Pal - 181. N. 2.

(b) ܐܪܥܐ Ass. Argamannu - Arb. 1, 88; c. III. 68. The darker purple scarlet as opposed to "takiltu" ܐܪܥܐ - Arb. 1, 88; c. III. 68), The lighter purple red; cf. in this connection Zehnfund Pal, 507, on the different kinds of purple.

(c) ܐܪܥܐ may be the same as "Αργαίος" to which Polybius II. 31 refers as a Gallic ornament. "Τὸτε Σενιὲ Ἀργαίον ὕψιλον ἔφερον καὶ περὶ τὰς κοίτας καὶ τὰς τρυφύλλας ἐκέναντες."

(d) ܐܪܥܐ. The ordinary form of the Aramaean Numeral is ܐܪܥܐ cf. ch. 2, 39. Hitzig. (81) read here "ܐܪܥܐ" in order to connect it with ܐܪܥܐ, but the form ܐܪܥܐ can be an adjectival formation meaning the third, like the Hebrew ܐܪܥܐ - third part,

Nu. 15, 6, ; Ezek. 5, 12.

𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 would then have to be considered as an abnormal St.Emphat of 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 (Kautzsch op. cit. p. 121.)

V. 9. 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 cf. Assyrian Šabasu-*rage*- Asb. c. IV. 88, 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 108
Šibsu - *rage* Aup. II. 106.

V. 11. 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 - "there is." Before suffixes often in the form
"𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕" Kautzsch op. cit. p. 125. Originally a substantive of
the stem 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕, Cognate with Hebrew 𐤏𐤕 (a biconsonantal noun like
𐤏𐤕 son - *ug*-name) and Assyrian iṣu - 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕.

The form 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 with final 𐤕 is a secondary development from
the noun, with the addition of 𐤕 and comes from are original
"yaty" (𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕), the construct state of which, 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕, was pronounced
in Aramaean 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 (𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕) initial 𐤕 becoming as always " 𐤕 ".
The form " 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 " - "Being" " 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 " is probably not Emphatic State
of 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 as Nöldeke thought Syr. Gr. 199, but a form with a de-
nominal Nisbe, as f. ex. in 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕.

The triradical stem ending in 𐤕 is found in the Assyrian
verb " 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 " to have, 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 (passim). In Assyrian the original
short form " 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 " corresponding to 𐤏𐤕 and 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕, mentioned above,
occurs for example Nim. Ep. 13, 3--5, 37, etc. Similar bi-conso-
nantal forms are nouns like " 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 " lip; 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 door 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕 son--
bintu - daughter, 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤕, Ilu, God etc.

ruption of "Sin-uballit" "Sin has made him live." The "Βαλῆ" of Phot. Bibl. c. 242 quoted by Hoffmann is prob. not "Palat" but "Baltu". The passage as he gives it is as follows: "Φαίνεται καὶ Συφορ τὰν ἑλόντων Ἡλ καὶ Βηλ καὶ Βαλῆ" "ἐπεσφίζοντες." The author may have mistaken "Βαλῆ" for the name of a male Divinity.

v. 17. $\text{p}^{\text{m}}\text{b}$. For the imperfect with b preformative, cf. Kautzsch Ar. Gr. p. 79.

Although a number of these Imperf. forms with b .Preformative have an optative meaning (for examples see Kautzsch), in some cases they show simply the force of a regular imperfect, (cf. Dan. 2, 28, 29,) so that it cannot be asserted that there is any difference in meaning between 3^d pers. m. - with p preform or the same form with b preformative.

In Mandaean as in Syriac the regular prefix of the 3^dp. Imprf. is "n" but sometimes "l". It is highly probable that the "n" form is secondary, being developed from an original l (see Haupt Pal 17), which, it is hardly necessary to remark, occurs in Assyrian in a precative signification. (cf. in this connection Laurie Hebr. II. No. 4, 248, remarks on "An Assyrian Precative in Daniel.") In Mandaean as in Aramaean, the two prefixes appear to have an exactly equal force; so much so that the "l" sometimes occurs by mis-

take for the unchangeable "n" of the 1st pers. cf. Nöldeke Mandaeen Gr. § 166. For examples in Mandaeen of the imperfect of the verb ܐܘܢ "to be" with ܐ preformative see Nöldeke op. cit. § 196, imperfect forms in "l" are also found in the Babylonian Talmud; for examples see Luzzato, Gramm. des Idioms des Thalmud Babli. p. 84, (quote Kautzsch op. cit. p. 79.)

v. 19. (a) ܥܠܝܢ - ܥܠܝܢ to tremble cf. ܥܠ 4, 5. Targ. Gen. 32, 25. The same stem is seen in Assyrian "Zû", storm, storm bird. cf. ܥܠ p. 94.

(b) ܥܠܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܠܝܢ -- "fearing before him" cf. Assyrian "lapan əšriti x x aplaxma. -- "I revered the shrines. Asb. c.x. 78; I. 11, 14, etc.

(c) ܥܠܝܢ -- cf. Assyrian çibû, to wish. (I.R. Sarg. Barrel. 42), from which the derivative "Tebîtu" "a wish;" also Çibûtu = desire. (d) ܥܠܝܢ, Ptc. Haphel of ܥܠܝܢ "to live."

The old Commentators considered it as the participle of ܥܠܝܢ "strike" reading ܥܠܝܢ. Theodotion translated-- ܥܠܝܢ ܥܠܝܢ ܥܠܝܢ ܥܠܝܢ ܥܠܝܢ. Vulg. "percutiebat," but it is now generally accepted as being the participle of ܥܠܝܢ to live, (as early as Bertholdt, p. 362, 19. Hävernicks, 196; Leng. 257/8; Hitzig. 33 etc), as indeed the context plainly shows.

For this form ܥܠܝܢ of the Haphel Ptc. of ܥܠܝܢ the Syriac

Aphel ܐܦܗܠ (Ptc.) ܐܦܗܠܝܢ may be compared. Such forms are based on the analogy of verbs ܐܦܠ (cf. Noldeke Syr. Gr. ٤, 183) cf. Aphel ܐܦܠܝܢ and Ptc. ܐܦܠܝܢ from ܐܦܠ . ܐܦܗܠܝܢ is not to be considered therefore as standing for an original ܐܦܗܠ as Kautzsch thought (29) (cf. also in this connection Noldeke Gött. Gel. Anz. 1884, 1018.)

Such an analogy between " ܐܦܗܠ " and the stems mediae geminatae (found in the imperf. and aphel of this verb in Syriac) is easily understood when it is remembered that the primitive form of ܐܦܠ is ܐܦܠ (ܐܦܠ intransitive) a trace of which is still found in the Arabic خيرا , -animal. Aram. " ܐܦܠܝܢ ."

This " ܐܦܠ " became naturally " ܐܦܠܝܢ ", which was itself a form ܐܦܠܝܢ .

Aphel forms like ܐܦܠܝܢ Ptc. ܐܦܠܝܢ of the verbs ܐܦܠ are in their turn based on the analogy of verbs ܐܦܠܝܢ ; thus the Aphel. of ܐܦܠܝܢ is ܐܦܠܝܢ Ptc. ܐܦܠܝܢ . (For Analogy in the Semitic languages in general; cf. Huizinga - Dissertation - Analogy in the Semitic languages - Baltimore, 1891.)

V. 21. (a) ܐܦܠܝܢ , cf. Ass. Taradu. drive away, (passim) "ina zum-rišu litrad; -from his body may he drive it forth. IV. 15, 27, b.

V. 21. (b) ܐܦܠܝܢ . This reading as a Passive (a form ܐܦܠܝܢ cf. ܐܦܠܝܢ) is possible and indicated by the Old Translators. cf. Θ ܐܦܠܝܢ . Vulg. positum est Syr. ܐܦܠܝܢ , Vers. Mass. ܐܦܠܝܢ (cf. also Lang. 259; Hitzig, 84.)



Kautzsch Aram. Gr. p. 81 reads, ܡܝܠܐ a 3d pl. Pa'il, transferring the ܡ from the following word, ܡܝܠܐ . For the use of ܡܝܠܐ with ܡܝ cf. Pesh. St. John 5, 18 ܡܝܠܐ and ܡܝܠܐ ܡܝܠܐ . In Hebrew ܡܝܠܐ is also found. cf. ܡܝܠܐ , 18, 34.

A corresponding usage is that of the Assyrian "*emu kima*" be like, Deluge, l. 183, *Kima titi tème*; -IV. 24, 41 b. Guy. 489 and 2b. 69. *Emu* is also construed with the adverbial ending, *is* cf. *uème Karmis*. = "I made it like a field." - San. c. 1, 75; *imu tilanis* I. 51, N. 2, 14; *Emu salantas* they were like corpses - Cyr. Cyl 11; *Emu Maxxutis*. — They were as if destroyed, - III 15, 21, c. I. cf. Jensen Cosm. 336/7. For the meaning "be like" of "*Emu*" cf. V. 47, 23 = *Mašalu* (cf. Hebrew כִּי־כֵן).

It seems to me rather doubtful if the stem ܡܝܠܐ is to be considered with *Zimmern* (Z.A.V. 85 ff.) a common Semitic possession. He cites the Assyrian form *Su-u-u* - *Šum-mu-u* found V. 28, 87. (cf. — also 2b 16 E. along with *Qu-u-u* - *Qu-mu-u*) as the Piel Infin. of ܡܝܠܐ . He then proceeds to deduce the argument that an original ܡ may remain in a few verbs ܡܝܠܐ in Assyrian; contrary to Haupt ZAI 259, ~ 86; BAI 293-300.

Although the occurrence of the three signs ܡܝܠܐ , ܡܝܠܐ and ܡܝܠܐ indifferently in the form "*u-ša-me*" mentioned by him, certainly seems to point to a "w" pronounciation, I am still by no means convinced that ܡܝܠܐ is necessarily a radical letter of the stem,

and that consequently ušame (ušawe) is to be considered the Piel of a stem ^{that} $\text{u}^{\text{š}}\text{m}$ and Šu-u-u are infinitives of this Piel. It seems perfectly possible to regard these forms as the Shaphel of the stem m^{w} - Emu, to be like, with radical "m". The "w" pronunciation in the Shaphel Infinitive "Šu-u-u" being understood simply as a secondary "w" development from the original "m", seen in the usual form "Šummû."

The stem m^{w} in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic may be a Shaphel formation from the same stem as Assyr. Šummû, i.e. m^{w} . That Emû is not from m^{w} , but from an original m^{w} (??) as Amiaud thought (ZAI 205), seems to me untenable.

(c) m^{w} - m^{w} , possibly the same as in Qubbu--finger, "the dipping member" (?) cf. — Qebû, to dye, found in the substantive "Qibûtum" - Tinctio, Immersio II. 30, 62 f.

There are three words of this form in Assyrian, i.e. besides the above; 2) Qibûtu, "a desire" (see above note c. to V. 19) and 3) Qibûtu, a precious thing, II. 67, 63. Compare for these forms Jensen ZKII 26/27.

V. 25. m^{w} m^{w} m^{w} m^{w}

The discovery of *Qanneau* (see above p. 4), and its development by Nöldake (p. 5,) have established the fact beyond doubt that m^{w} m^{w} and m^{w} are to be considered as names of

weights.

It does not seem necessary to regard " ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ " as a repetition of the same word with both Nöldeke and Hoffmann (see above pp. 4/5. As has already been noticed by Nöldeke in his remark concerning the old idea that all three words were participles (ZAL, 414) the form ܐܠܗܐ can be regarded as a Passive Part. Feal from ܐܠܗܐ , to count, as verbs *tertia* form their passive participles in this manner (fa'il) cf. in Biblical Aramaean. ܐܠܗܐ for ܐܠܗܐ passive participle ܐܠܗܐ , and in Syriac. ܐܠܗܐ for ܐܠܗܐ from ܐܠܗܐ (see Nöldeke Syr. Gr. § 176.) If the first ܐܠܗܐ in verse 25 be considered in this way, the verbal form on which the following words depend, the sentence receives more coherence than if it contained the mere names of the weights with the first repeated twice. As will be seen from the subsequent treatment of the subject there would be little point in thus repeating the symbol for Nebuchanezzar.

The second ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ (sing of ܐܠܗܐ) are in form regular substantives in the absolute state, of emphatic forms ܐܠܗܐ , ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ respectively, as Nöldeke has shown.

As to the form ܐܠܗܐ the vocalisation with "e" is proved by the *Scriptio plena*, with "i" in the Targum ܐܠܗܐ , Ex. 38, 26 (Berliner) also Targ. 1 Sam. 17, 5, and Targ. Hos. 3, 2 (Lagarde.) The simple form of the word occurs in neither Syriac nor Arabic.

Cf. Syr. ܐܠܝܢܐ Ar. ألين cf. Nöld. ZA 1.415, but Heb.

אֵלִין . It has passed into Greek in the form ἐϋλιν .

ܐܠܝܢܐ is, as just remarked, plural of ܐܠܝܢܐ Absol. St. ܐܠܝܢܐ is a word well known to the later Jews in the form אֵלִין cf. Levy. Chald. Wort.

The stem ܐܠܝܢܐ means "break" in the sense of dividing into parts- cf. Isaiah, 58, 7, used of breaking bread; and 2K. 4, 39, of the division of the fruits.

The original meaning of ܐܠܝܢܐ , seems to be therefore "a piece" or "portion," (cf. Kautzsch Aram. Gr. § 54, N. 39.) It is worthy of notice that only in the word "half Mina" does the meaning "half" occur in Aram. , So that in this sense it may be a loan word. (cf. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 47.) The form ܐܠܝܢܐ with ܐ discovered by Ganneau on the weights may represent the distinctively Assyrian pronunciation of the word. (cf. in this connection Nöldke (ZA 1.418.))

Concerning the pronunciation of ܐ & ܐ in Assyro-Babylonian, there seems to be great confusion among scholars. For a discussion of the perplexing literature on this subject cf. Haupt in his paper on the pronunciation of "Tr." in Old Persian, J.H.U. No. 59, p. 118. Contrary to the idea of Delitzsch that original ܐ in Assyrian as well as in Babylonian later became confounded with ܐ (ܐܠܝܢܐ) just as in Ethiopic, the truth seems to be that the pronunciation

of the Sibilants in Nineveh was different to that used in Babylon.

U appears to have been pronounced ʔ in the North and ʃ in the Midlands while just the reverse took place in the case of ʃ .

The first to notice this principal difference between the Assyrian and Babylonian dialects was the great Irish Scholar Hincks, who called attention to it, in a short essay of the year 1857, (quoted Haupt l.c.) The same idea was expressed quite clearly by Oppert, *Elements de la Grammaire Assyrienne* 1868, p. 11, § 22. For examples of the Babylonian pronunciation of the Sibilants see Haupt l.c. quoting Hincks op. cit.

That ʃ was pronounced as ʃ in the north appears clear from such examples quoted by Hincks l.c. as Ass. Ursalimmu for ʃ , Asdudu for ʃ etc, etc. Such a writing with ʃ would appear simply to indicate the Assyrian pronunciation of the original ʃ .

The common scriptural spelling ʃ is not then necessarily to be considered a later usage, as Halevy thought, (*Recherches Bibliques* 491) probably following the opinion of Delitzsch that the "S" pronunciation of ʃ was a later development beginning after the time of Sargon. (See *Ag. Germ. Ed.* p. 108) Delitzsch seems completely to have ignored the difference between the Babylonian and Assyrian treatment of Sibilants, and denies the change of Assyrian ʃ to ʃ , which later opinion is shared by Hommel (see *Jagdinschr.* p.



29, 5 and Sem. 50: quoted J.H.C. 59, 118.)

"process" although not a dual in form as Ganneau thought (see above
can certainly be understood as having a dual force,--"two half
Minas," very much like "twin" twins, (see above.)

CHAPTER III

The Book of Daniel in the Light of the Fifth Century B.C.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DATE

From the standpoint of the examination of the Book of Daniel, it must be admitted that the question of the date of the Book of Daniel has any claim to be considered a highly technical question.

It cannot be denied that if the Fifth Century B.C. and thus a full century before the Book of Daniel is regarded as pertaining to historical events, the political record is open to all manner of attack. The Book of Daniel must not be considered as in reality a historical record, but a veracious account of events which took place at the time of the Fall of Babylon, but rather as a political pamphlet of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

It is not the general opinion of most scholars who study the Old Testament from a critical point of view, that the Book of Daniel cannot have originated, according to the accepted date, of the time of Cyrus. (See *Handbook of the Bible*, p. 100.) The following are the chief reasons for such a conclusion.

1. The Book of Daniel is a book of prophecy, and as such it is not a historical record, but a book of prophecy. It is a book of prophecy, and as such it is not a historical record, but a book of prophecy.

Note 1.--- The explanation originated with the Rabbini-
cal writers that Daniel had the *רוח הקודש* -- "spirit of holiness,"
but not the *רוח הנבואה* -- "official inspiration." (Kimchi,
Preface to the Psalms ; Abarbanel, *De Hebræis*, 2. 41. 110. quoted
Bernholt XIII.) The Rabbinical device was followed and elab-
orated by a number of the later orthodox commentators. Thus,
Delitzsch, *Re. S.* 271. -- 272. Keil Comm. 10, etc. Compare als
Kronenfeld *J. Langeke* 565, etc.

Note 2.--- Bleek Einl. 418. In the Septuagint the book
is placed directly after Ezekiel, which shows that the translator
considered it a prophetic work. Compare in this connection the
opinion of Jeronimus (quoted Bernholt 1. c.) who attributed to
Daniel the highest degree of prophetic inspiration. "*למה הגדול*"
Compare Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel, in Daniel. f. 17.

apparent that the Author believed that Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Belshazzar, who was displaced by Darius the Median, and he in turn followed by Cyrus the Persian. It seems evident therefore, that in the mind of the Author the four empires were as follows : First, the Babylonian, represented by Nebuchadnezzar and his immediate successor Belshazzar ; secondly, that of Darius the Median, thirdly, the Persian empire of Cyrus, and fourthly, the empire of Alexander and his successors, culminating at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. (Compare Reuss 595 F.)

It is now generally recognized that chapter 11. 21--45 refers to the evil deeds of Antiochus IV, and his attempts against the Jewish people and the worship of Jehovah. In chapter 12. follows the promise of salvation from the tyrant. In chapter 8 the king, symbolized by the little horn, of whom it is said that he will come from one of the four kingdoms which shall be formed from the Greek empire after the death of its first king, can be none other than Antiochus Epiphanes. In like manner do the references in chapter 9 and chapter 11. 21 plainly allude to this prince. (Compare in this connection Bleek Einl. p. 420 ff.) It would be extremely difficult to reconcile these facts with the theory of a Babylonian authorship for the book, because, setting aside the marvel of such accurate prophecy centuries before the

the same time, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) published a

letter to the editor from a physician in the United States, who stated that he had been

informed by a patient that he had been treated with a drug called "Milt."

The physician stated that he had been told that the drug was a "miraculous"

drug, and that it was "the only thing that would cure him."

The physician stated that he had been told that the drug was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

that would cure him, and that he had been told that it was "the only thing"

events referred to, it would be natural to expect that a prophet of the time of the Babylonian captivity would rather direct his attention to the freedom of his people from their servitude in Babylon than from the oppression of a king who ruled centuries later. It would be more natural too, to expect in an early prophetic prediction of the return of the Jews to Palestine, as in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah 40-48, rather than ~~in~~ the proclamation of an ideal Messianic kingdom, such as we find in the Book of Daniel. (For the lateness of the second part of the book, compare Ewald, *Einl.* p. 10; Strack *Pe.* 7. 112; Hoffmann, *Amicus* IV. p. 111; Dever, *Introduction to the Study of Old Testament Literature* 101. It has been remarked that the contents of chapter 7, including Jerusalem, would involve an impossible anachronism to the late origin. (Giles, *Commentary*, H. B. 1. 1. 123. 1.) Not only do the Apocalyptic portions of the book seem to preclude the theory of a late origin with certainty, but the numerous inaccuracies in the narrative sections make it equally difficult to maintain a late origin.

Such statements as are found in chapters 7 and 8, which are not in the main, when taken in conjunction with the other evidence, seem to point to a date of composition not far removed from Babylonian times. The prophet is living at the time of the fall of Babylon, and Cyrus could have been heard of, but not yet known as the conqueror of the Babylonians, and the Jews would not have been permitted to return to their land.

Note 3.---It is interesting to notice that as early as 1757 Goebel (Dr Belshazzar---quoted Reuss Einl. 40:.) asked if such a blunder were consistent with the theory of a contemporary authorship. Compare also Santorini, Hist. Excid. Babil. Tübingen 1766 ; Norberg Op. d. M. see Reuss l. c.

Note 1.---The argument that the occurrence of Persian loan-words necessarily points to a pre-saccabasan origin for these sections (Strack no. 7. 414) does not seem tenable. It is quite conceivable that Persian loan-words should have remained until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Note 2.---For the termination -os in Hebrew compare Ges.
Thes. 1210.

Note 3.---Compare in this connection Grimm's Etymologisches Wörterbuch 1. 608. 607; Delius' Intercessionen 470. (Darmstadt, Heb. 3. 7. ff.) It is interesting to notice that *neqalath* is also a variant of Antiochus Epiphanes. (See Polybius Ath. n. 10. 1. 1. 4 and Heb. 3. 10. n. 2.)

Ret. 7.---Bein Fränk 1 and Praetorius hold this opinion.
Compare also Lagarac. Ges Abh. 4: 10. Sig. 6. 6.
Delitzsch As. 133. all q. and Haupt Bk. 1. 171. Note.

Note 9.--See Henry Fr. Finson, *Athenicae Mæon* 1843, p. 11;
compare also *Opusc. Zang.* 1. 539.

Note 10.--The name occurs in the inscriptions as that of pre-
bably two other persons. (1) IN KB. 1. 60. 6. where the ruler
of the city of the Kiš-šî, and of the tribes composed of
Sagî is called Balšaragur. (2) The Balšaragur son of Balu-
tu mentioned by Pinches, *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. Nat.* 1880, is
probably not to be identified with the Nabonids but of an or-
dinary person,--perhaps some one named after the king's
son.

Note 10.--1 B. C. c. 2. B. C. Text KT 47. Translation
JEAS 10., Tablet: *Opusc. EM.* 1. 267.

... (S. A. B. ... ; ...) ...
 ... (S. A. B. ... ; ...) ...
 ... I ... admit ... to be ...
 ... from Belšar-uçur, which has been dis-
 ... as the name of the eldest
 ... king of Babylon.

... to this prince in ...
 ...
 ... of Ur, ... of Nabonidus, ...
 ... of Babylon. ...
 ... of Ur is ... and
 ...
 ... In this document Nabonidus ...

Balaṭu ʿsa umē ruḡūti	Life for long days
ana ʿširiḡti ʿšurqam	give me as a gift,
u ʿsa Bel-ʿsar-uçur	and cause to dwell
māru rēṣṭū	in the heart of B.
çit libbiya	my first born son,
puluxti ilutika rabīti	the offspring of my body,
libbuṣ ʿsuṣkinma	reverence for thy great godhead;
à irṣā	may he ne'er incline

Note 11.---KB 3. part 2. 82. " Belšaruçur marà restû
 * * * çit (?) libbiya šuriku umišu à irša xiṭeti." B. my
 first born * * * the offspring of my body, make long his
 days, may he not incline to sin. " Peiser transcribes in
 KB. " * * lu (?) ux bi a---çit (?) libbiya."

Note 12.---Annals c. 2. 5. during the 7th year. C. 2.
 10. during the 10th year. cf. 2. 19. 23.

xiṭēti

to sin.

lalē balaṭu lī'sbi.

May he be fill-d with the fullness of life.

In the second column of the great inscription of Ur, the king, after describing the restoration of the Temple of Ebar-ra and offering a devout petition to Šamaš, the sun-god that the sacred shrines may now remain uninjured, closes with a prayer for his own well being, ^{and} in almost the same words as the above, with a supplication for B. his first born.

Why this especial mention of the king's son occurs in these inscriptions of Ur is doubtful. It may be conjectured with Tiele (Gesch. 463) that Belšaruṣur was governor of this province in Southern Babylonia, and had Ur as his capital, or it is possible that Nabonidus attached some special religious importance to the cult of the moon-god local in this place. The petition here that the king's son might not incline to sin, may perhaps indicate that the prince had in some way offended the prejudices of the religious classes, who, as is well known, supervised the preparation of the inscriptions.

From the allusion to the prince in the Annals of Nabonidus, it appears that the son of the king was a number of

Note 13.---Compare Nbpl. c. 2. 69. KB. 3. part 2. 4. mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and 3. 6. ff. of Nabušlišir his brother. In later documents mention is made of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, as co-regent and king of Babylon during his father's lifetime. (Compare Tiele Gesch. 483---484.) In the inscription of Antiochus Soter 5. R. 66. 25. KB. 3. part 2. 138. 25. mention is made of Seleucus his son and vice-king. Delattre, 1883, "Salomon, Asb. et Baltasar" p. 5, compares in connection with Belsaraçur the cases of Solomon and Sardapalus, both of whom exercised the vice regal dignity during the life of their respective fathers.

years with the lords and army in Akkad, most probably in the capacity of Commander in Chief, while his father was residing in Tema free from the cares of government. (See below.) It is worthy of notice here that in the Annals, the name Belšar-u^{ru}ur does not occur, the allusion being merely to the son of the king, but there can be little doubt that the reference is to the first born.

In addition to these three passages from the historical literature, there are numbers of references to Belšar-u^{ru}ur in the Contract Tablets none of which however throws any further important historical light on his character. (For references to Belšar-u^{ru}ur in the Contract Tablets see additional note 1.)

As Belsarucur is the only king's son mentioned with such prominence in the Babylonian inscriptions, and, as it is especially stated that the lords of the kingdom and the army were with him (probably under his supervision) in Akkad, it seems highly probable that he was a very important personage. A theory which is strengthened by the fact that his father Nabonidus was more of an archaeologist than a ruler, and far more interested in the discovery of a forgotten site than in

Note.14.---Floigl. Cyrus and Herodot. 24. Andrea Bew. d. Gl. 88 p. 249;Smith Dictionary of the Bible. Meinhold Dissertation 30, note 2, etc.

Note 15.---Marshall Canon Chron. 596. Hoffmann 70 Jahr-
wochen 44. Hävernick, Neue Kritische Untersuchungen 71. Oehler, Theolog. Lit. Anz. 1842 n. 42. 348. Hupfeld Exercit. Her. Spec. 2. 46. Niebuhr, Geschichte Babyloniens & Assyriens. Wolff Studien & Kritiken 1858, 664. Zündel Daniel 33. Keil Daniel 145 knowing of the discovery of the name in the inscriptions, thought that Belšarucur, son of Nabonidus, must have been named after Belshazzar-Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, (!) and lately Unger Cyaxares & Astyages 28---29. Quatremere Annales de la Phil. Chrétienne 1838. (Migne Dictionnaire de la Bible 2. p. 30 n. 1845.) advanced the theory, evidently in support of Jeremiah 27. 7., that Nabonidus, as a usurper associated with himself Belshazzar son of Evilmerodach and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, in order to strengthen his position.

The view that Belshazzar and Nabonidus were identical was advanced by Josephus (Antiquities 10. 11. 2.) where he

the affairs of his kingdom. (See below.) Belshazzar therefore, as some critics have argued, may have really been co-regent but, as will be seen subsequently, the Author of the Book of Daniel could not, as they thought, have had this idea in mind in calling him King of Babylon.

Comparing the Belshazzar of the inscriptions with the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel the following important differences are apparent. The former was the son of the last king of Babylon, but never reigned, except possibly as co-regent, while the latter is distinctly called the last king and the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

There can be little doubt that both of these statements were made by the Author of Daniel in perfect good faith.

A number of commentators have sought to prove that the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel was not necessarily meant by the Author as the last king of Babylon, but was intended for Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar ; a view advanced in support of the statement in verse 2, that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Following this theory they considered Belshazzar merely a secondary name. (So Zündel Daniel 20. Niebuhr Gesch. 30. etc.)

It is difficult to understand however how the Author could make Daniel declare to the Babylonian monarch that his

states that Baltasar was called Naboandelus by the Babylo-
nians (compare also Contra Ap. par. 20.), and followed by
J. D. Michaelis 46., Bertholdt 344., Bleek 270., Kirms 11.
Hengstenberg, Havernick, Ewald, Gesch 4. 85. note., Herzfeld
Gesch. 1. 154., Browne Ordo Saeculorum 171. & Martin Les Civil.
Prim. 363.

Scaliger and Calvisius who were followed by Eberard---
Comm. zur Offenb. Johannis 45 and Delitzsch RB. — (Belshazzar),
identified him with Laborosoarchod the son of Neriglissar.
(Labashi-Marduk.)

Note 16.---Zündel, Kranichfeld 25. 28. who believed that
Belshazzar was Evilmerodach, explained this silence regarding
the intervening period and the connection of two statements
so far apart, by supposing that they were brought together be-
cause the latter was a sequence of the former ! Compare,
however, in this connection Keil Einl. 404.

kingdom was about to pass to the Medes and Persians unless the prophecy was intended for the last king. There would be little point in such a warning, if it were given a generation before its actual fulfillment.

We may compare in this connection the indifference of Hezekiah to the prophecy of Isaiah of the ultimate deportation to Babylon and degradation there of all the Jewish royal family. In Isaiah 39, verse 8, Hezekiah said : "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken---for there shall be peace and truth in my days."

In addition to this it is evident that if the Author of Daniel did not really regard his Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon, but as Evilmerodach, he must have omitted without mention a period of twenty years between the death of the latter and the foreign supremacy ; i. e. that between the two contiguous and closely connected statements of the death of Belshazzar and the accession of Darius the Median, the reigns of several kings were passed over in silence. That a writer should do this knowingly without a word of explanation seems a preposterous supposition. It appears perfectly clear that the biblical Author regarded Belshazzar as the last king of Babylon before the coming of the Medes and Per-



sians.

As remarked above certain critics held the view that because Belshazzar may have been co-regent with his father, the biblical writer knowing this, gave his Belshazzar the title of king. Were this the case however, we would not expect to find the unqualified title "King of Babylon" without any further explanation. Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was undoubtedly co-regent and bore the title king of Babylon during his father's lifetime, but in the contract which dates from his first year it is expressly stated that Cyrus was still king of the lands (See Ch. II p. 134. Compare Daniel 8. 1. where reference is made to the third year of Belshazzar King of Babylon, without any mention of another over-ruler.) Had the Author of Daniel really believed that Belshazzar was co-regent it is reasonable to suppose that he would in some way have qualified the title "King of Babylon."

Furthermore the statement that Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar shows conclusively that the historical knowledge of the Author of Daniel was considerably at fault. (see also Baruch 1. 11.) Certain commentators have endeavored to prove that this statement may be in accordance with the real facts ; i. e. that "son" here is to be translated "de-

scendant" or "grandson." It is perfectly true, as Dr. Pusey has remarked that α & β (Aram. α & β) are used not only of the actual father and son, but also of the grandfather or grandson, and ancestor or descendant in general. (Compare Pusey Daniel 346---Genesis 29. 5 : 28. 5. 1 Kings 19. 16 : 2 Kings 9. 2. 4. There is no distinctive word either in Hebrew or biblical Aramaean for grandfather or grandson. In later Hebrew Levy gives β grandfather.: feminine β ---Neuheb. Wörterb. Compare also Pusey 346.) The way however in which Nebuchadnezzar is referred to in the fifth chapter shows plainly, that the Author could have had no knowledge of the intervening kings, but considered Nebuchadnezzar as the actual father of Belshazzar. In the first place, the narrative of chapter 5 follows directly on the chapters concerning Nebuchadnezzar, and begins with the unqualified assertion that Belshazzar was the son of that monarch, and secondly, the remark of Belshazzar in verse 13. "So thou art Daniel---whom the king my father brought from Judaea", would be ambiguous if the king were referring to his grandfather or an ancestor. (Compare Bleek comm. on chapter 5. 11. Hitzig Daniel. 7.) In this case we would expect the repetition of the name Nebuchadnezzar to indicate to which "father" the king was alluding. But even if the words son and father of the

Note.17.---Auberlen thought that Belshazzar was called son of Nebuchadnezzar just as Omri was considered by the Assyrians father of the house of Israel. "Father" however cannot be used of the unrelated predecessors as Pusey (Daniel 346) sought to show. Wherever it is apparently used in this connection, as in the above cited case, it is an error as to the real relationship. The passage in Sargon which Pusey cites in support of his view, believing that Sargon was no relation to the preceding kings, is very doubtful, and probably does not contain the words "sarru abiya---the king my father" . Compare Winckler Sargon 2. Xiii, but also Tiele Gesch. 244 & 255 remark 2.

fifth chapter really were used for grandson and grandfather there is no proof that Belšarucur was any relation to Nebuchadnezzar. Nabonidus his father, was the son of a nobleman Nabubalatsuiqbi (K. E. 3. 2. 16 (4)) and was probably a leader in the conspiracy against his predecessor Labāsi-Marduk. As far as is known he was no relation to any of the preceding kings. Had Nabonidus been descended from Nebuchadnezzar he could hardly have failed to boast of such a connection with the greatest Babylonian monarch, yet in none of his inscriptions does he trace his descent beyond his father.

Some scholars have tried to obviate the difficulty by supposing that Nabonidus, in order to strengthen his dynasty, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar and that in this way Belšarucur was the great king's grandson, a theory which in the absence of records cannot possibly be proven. (Note that Jarchi, Ibn Ezra, Bertholdt 344, Bleek, Kirms, Hävernick, Unters. 72: Hoffmann 44. Hitzig 72. Schrader, Jahrb. für Prot. Theologie VII 629, are all agreed that the Author considered Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar.)

The similarity of name and the facts ; first, that the historical Belšarucur of the inscriptions was the son of the last king of Babylon, while the Belshazzar of Daniel is rep-

Note 18.---Talbot Rp. 5. 143. doubts the identity of the biblical Belshazzar with the Belšarucur of the inscriptions, supposing that the account in Daniel is told of some other person with this name, which he asserts to be a common one. As the name Belšarucur occurs only twice in the published inscriptions of another than the son of Nabonidus (see above p. 80 n. 9) until the hypothetical other person be discovered, it is certainly reasonable, in view of the reasons just given, to regard Belšarucur son of Nabonidus and the Belshazzar of Daniel as identical.

resented as being the last king himself and that secondly, it has been established quite lately that Belšarraur, son of Nabonidus, probably met his death at the time of the capture of Babylon, in partial agreement with the biblical account concerning Belshazzar (See below) ^{fact} prove beyond reasonable doubt that the son of Nabonidus is the original of the king in the biblical account.

The first historical inaccuracy of the fifth chapter is therefore the erroneous statement concerning the name and ancestry of the last king of Babylon. It should be remarked that the nature of the Book of Daniel which nowhere pretends to be an accurate history, but is rather a political pamphlet written with a certain object in view, makes it probable that even had the author really known the correct succession, he would not have made use of the names of the rulers intervening between Nebuchadnezzar and the last king, as it would have materially weakened the force of his story. The whole point of the fifth chapter, as brought out in the mysterious sentence, is a comparison between the great Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the Babylonian monarchy, the insignificant last king, who had allowed the reins of government to slip from his feeble hands, and the coming stranger

people who should divide between them the empire of Nabuchadnezzar. (See chapter 4.)

B. The second inaccuracy of the Author in the fifth chapter of Daniel which should be noticed at this point, is his introduction of the Queen-Mother i. e. the mother of Nabonidus, into the story. According to verse 10, the queen entered the hall and suggested that the Jewish prophet Daniel be called to interpret the mysterious writing. As mentioned above (see note 1 to verse 10) the Author was evidently referring to the Queen-Dowager, the mother of the last king of Babylon. The mother of Nabonidus however died in his ninth year, (see below appendix 1 Annals c. 1. 13.) just eight years before the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, so that her presence at a feast held towards the close of the reign of Nabonidus would be clearly impossible. It might be argued, however, that this reference in chapter 5 can refer to the mother of Belshazzar, the wife of Nabonidus, but, as there is little doubt that the author of Daniel regarded Belshazzar (Belshazzar) as actually king and knew nothing of Nabonidus, it seems only possible to assert that he considered the queen, alluded to in this verse as the mother of the reigning monarch without any special reference to history.

C. The third and last historical inaccuracy of the fifth

Note 20 1/2 ---

Chan. Cypri. l. 5. 2

Ἡρώδης δὲ τὸν ἀφικόμενον ὄντα Αστυάγην ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἀποδείκνυσι, ὃ δὲ Κναξάγης, ὃ τὸν Αστυάγου παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κίρκης Μητρὸς παλαιῶς τῆς Ἀλκίης ἑταβε τῶν Μηδικῶν.

Note 19.---Isaiah 40 ff. compare also the legend of Bel and the dragon, verse 1, and the Greek translation (Septuagint, & Theodotion) of Daniel 11. 1. where Cyrus is substituted for Darius.

Note 20.---Josephus Antiquities 10. 11. 4. followed by Jerome on Daniel 5. 1 : 6. 1. and Polychron on 8. 4. (Josephus stated that Babylon was captured by Darius, who was the son of Astyages and had another name among the Greeks.)

Later Delitzsch RE. 3. Daniel: Gesenius on Isaiah 1.4. Hävernick comm. 205: Hengstenberg 48. 327: Jahn Bibl. Arch. 2. 1. 219: Kranichfeld 44: Lengerke 232: Lenormant Magie 535: J. D. Michaelis 52: Offerhaus, Spicilegium hist. Chron. 265: Rosenmüller 195: Seyffarth, Die Aegyptischen Alterthümer in Nimrud 478. Vaihinger RE. s. v. Darius. Venema, Hist. Ecc-

chapter of Daniel is the assertion in verse 31 that a Median king Darius "received the kingdom after the end of the native Babylonian dynasty. It is well known that Babylon was captured by Cyrus the Persian, who, some time previously, had obtained possession of Media and its king Astyages. See above note to verse 28, and below p. 111. It is evident too, from Daniel 1. 21: 10. 1. that the Biblical writer was perfectly aware of the existence of Cyrus. From his introduction of a Median Darius directly after the fall of Belshazzar, it must be concluded that the Author of the Book of Daniel believed in the existence of a Median king between the Babylonian and Persian dynasties.

The fact that in no other scriptural passage is mention made of any Median ruler between the last king of Babylon and Cyrus, and the absolute silence of the most authoritative ancient authors regarding such a king have cast serious doubt on the historical accuracy of the Book of Daniel in this particular. Various attempts have been made however to vindicate the historical character of this Darius the Median. The opinion has been very generally advanced that he was identical with the Cyaxares, son of Astyages mentioned in Xenophon's Cyropædia and in support of this theory reference

les. 2. 309: Zündel 37. Compare also Browne Ordo Saeculorum p. 175: Schulze Cyrus der Grosse. — (Stud. u. Krit. 1853.) ---685: Zöckler 34. With regard to other less important opinions as to Darius the Median, some authorities considered him identical with Astyages. Among the holders of this opinion are Theodoret, Syncellus (cited Bertholdt 844) Marsham, Schütz etc. and lately Unger, Cyaxares and Astyages 26---28. Others sought to show that Darius the Median was a near relative of Astyages. Compare Quatremere, memoires sur Dar. Le Mede & Baltasar 380, 381, who considered him Astyages, nephew. Ibn Ezra (Hitzig 73) thought that he was the brother-in-law of Cyrus. Klein, Schulze, & Zündel regarded him as a younger brother of Astyages. Ehrard Scheuchzer according to Calvisius, Scaliger, De emend. Temp 579., Petavius and Pudeus (Zöckler 34.) thought him identical with Nabonidus. Conring, Advers. Chron. c. 13., Bouhier dissertation sur Herodote 29., Larcher Hist. d. H. t. 7. 174. regarded him as identical with Neriglissar. Hengst-enberg, 328, identified him with Bahman, who according to Persian tradition (Mirchond) dethroned Belshazzar and appointed Cyrus; but compare Lengerke 224 ff. &c. &c.

has been made to the remark of Aeschylus Persae 762---765.

(So Hitzig 77. Keil 165.)

Ἀστῆρες γὰρ ὁ γένος Ἰσχυροῦς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
ἄλλος σκεῖναι παῖς τοῦ εἰ γὰρ ὅτι
φύλας γὰρ αὐτοῦ σκεῖν οὐκ αὐτοῦ
τῆς δ' αὖτε κείνου εὐδαίμονα ἀνὴρ

The "Ἰσχυροῦς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ" was supposed to refer to Astyages while the "son of the following line was understood to be the Cyaxares mentioned in the Cyropedeia. As a further proof of identity the age of the Darius of Daniel^{2d} has been cited as a point of agreement with the account that Cyaxares having no hope of an heir, being too old, made Cyrus his successor. (Cyr. VIII 5. 19.) It may be well in this connection to compare the data of Xenophon regarding the last Median kings, with those of Herodotus on the same subject.

It should be noticed first that Herodotus ends the Median dynasty with Astyages, while Xenophon adds a son Cyaxares.

Secondly, according to Herodotus Cyrus was only related to the Median house by being the son of Astyages' daughter. Xenophon adds to this that Cyrus married the daughter of Cyaxares (his first cousin) and identified with

Note 21-- Havernick 206. Keil 165. Kranichfeld 44. Lengerke
220. Andrea Bew. d. Gl. 25. 57. Weinhold dissertation 33-34

with her the Median empire.

Thirdly, according to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus took part in the rebellion instigated by Vahagnus and compelled his grand-father Astyages, capturing Media.

Herodotus' account of the conquest of Babylon contains no reference to any Median prince. Xenophon relates, however, that Cyrus after quarreling with Craxares became reconciled to him and gave him royal honors from the Babylonian campaign (Neil Comm. 183)

Herodotus as will be seen from the above, had no knowledge of any Median King between Astyages and Cyrus, nor of any special Median occupation of Babylon, and in this respect his account is substantiated by the Cuneiform records. It should be noticed that neither Herodotus nor any other ancient author knows of a Median rule after the fall of Babylon. For Herodotus see Chapter 4. p. 25. Compare also Ktesias Pers. 2. 5. Diodorus Siculus 2. 34 &c.) In the annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder, the two cuneiform documents, relating to the fall of Babylon, no mention whatever occurs of any ruler of Media between Astyages and Cyrus (cf. annals 2. 1-4 and note to verse 28.) nor of any fall of Babylon into captivity between Nabonidus and Cyrus.

On the contrary it is stated that Cyrus became master of Media by conquering Astyages, and that the troops of the King of Persia, capturing Babylon, took Nabonidus prisoner. Cyrus himself entered the City four months later. In view of these facts it is difficult to see where an intermediate reign can be inserted, either in Media directly after Astyages, or in Babylonia after Nabonidus. It should be mentioned moreover that the Cyaxares of the Cyropædæia is not recorded to have ruled in Babylon, but merely to have received royal quarters in that city (Cyrop. VIII. 5.)

An identification between Darius, the Median and the Cyaxares, the son of Astyages of Xenophon's romance, is open to the serious objection that the existence of this person, contrary to all other accounts, is extremely doubtful. It should be remembered that the narrative of the Cyropædæia resembles the Book of Daniel in that it was not written for a historical, but for a moral purpose. It is enough to quote Cicero who remarked (Ad q. fr. l. 6.) "Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus est, sed a . . . effigiem justî imperiî." Then too, with respect to the Median succession Xenophon in his more historical work, the Anabasis, expressly states that Astyages succeeded to the

Note 22-- Some commentators who identified Xenophon's Cyaxares with the Median Darius, explained the silence of Herodotus and other writers regarding Cyaxares, by supposing that the latter reigned too short a time, to have given his name to history; but this does not explain the silence of Xenophon himself in the Anabasis about the fabulous Cyaxares!

NOTE 23-- Some commentators in a vain effort to confirm the biblical record deliberately confounded the names of Darius, Cyaxares and Xerxes. Thus Vitringa Obs. Sacr. l. 2. 313; Scaliger op. cit. 587. Hävernick Comm. 210. Untere 78. and Zöckler 34. thought that Astraces was identical^{with} Ahasuerus. Keil 167 thought that Darius and Cyaxares were related in meaning. Hengstenberg 51. Niebuhr, Kleine Schriften 207, believed in the identity of Cyaxares, Astyages and Ahasuerus. v. Leng. 237 thought that Cyaxares and Ahasuerus were identical. Zündel 36, Kranichfeld 46. Pusey 159. Andrea op. cit. 58. saw no difficulty in the difference in name! Unger, Cyaxares & Astyages 29. thought Darius was a throne name &c.

victorious arms of Cyrus, so that the Cyropædia representing the peaceful passage of the Empire of the East from Astyages to Cyaxares, his son, and from the latter to Cyrus, can only be giving some romantic embellishment.

It is probable that this Cyaxares of the Cyropædia arose from a confusion of facts. The father of Astyages was the famous Cyaxares (see below) and Xenophon by a confusion of history, must have believed when writing his romance that Astyages preceded Cyaxares and that the latter was the last King of his dynasty (Compare Delattre Medes page 170.) Even had this fabulous Cyaxares existed an identification between him and Darius, the Median, would be impossible, owing to the difference of the names of their respective fathers. The latter is called 'the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) in chapter 9. 1. a name which could never be considered the same as Astyages.

The attempt to identify the Darius of Daniel with the King Darius mentioned in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. According to this passage it is stated that after Cyrus, the last King of Babylon, the province of Carmania (Carmeniam) was

Note--24-- Armenian Chronicle l. pp. 60. l. quoting from Abydenus' account, which the latter took from Herodotus. Compare Andrea op. cit. 48., also Zündel 35. note 3.

Note 25-- Suidas said (Edition Gaisf. volume 1. 867.)
 " Δαρείος δὲ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἄλλ' ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς παλινορέου βασιλέως ἐνομασθεὶς αὐτῷ
 (see also Andrea op. cit. 49.) Parpocraton sub. v. Schol. ad.

Arist. Eccl. 545--598. (Pusey 159. Havermick Inters 78.) remarks
 " Ἐκλήθη αὖτε δὲ Δαρείος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ Πλείους νομίζουσι
 ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἄλλ' ἢ ἑτέρου βασιλέως
 see also Hengstenberg 51. Franckfeld. 46 &c.

Note 26-- The suggestion of Priebeaux Hist. d. Juifs. t. 1.
 and Vitranga op. cit. 2. 308 . see also Bible Commentary
 6. 314 and Andrea op. cit. 49.

Note 27-- Compare Gesenius Thes. 353. and De Lagarde Abh. 342.
 13. remarks Δαρείος like Δαρείος, a byform of Darius.
 (quoted Za2 50.) For the origin of the coin compare Hultsch
 Metr. 277 and literature there cited.

Page 1.

for 1.0 in α and β and γ are the same as in (1.4).

Εν τούτοις, το ερώτημα Λαζαράκης (2006: 91) παραμένει:

It is true, of course, that it is extremely probable that there is no connection historically between the two. But in the same old clichés, the two

Δηλαδή, η θεωρία του αντικειμενικού development from Love
has no analogy. As Hofstadter also points out (Za9, 5...)

forms like κεφαμένος, Εξουμένος from κεφαμένος, Γαλακτός, i.e. derived from an original -εδος. The form Λαλακτός

be
 "likely" if it is not of host origin. (For the extreme
 probability of contamination of the host from the same

Warren compares his entire article Za2 49-58. As early as
"The Quick Filters," 79, note 4, the difficulty of reaching sug-
gestion (or salt.) The derivation, however, said nothing

(Fr) = "from" (er-ik== ,) "from" Dr= ste tie rem! = "at"

1. Unrecorded Provincial Descriptions. (Continued 1970)

[illegible][illegible]

now in the service of (So Virohāra, 1993: 110).
role of the Lamentant (qual of the Andī, 'History of the
East') i. e. a sort of strap-on vic-¹tim (Andā op. cit.
1993: 10.) The author of Daniel represents Darius as
being a tyrant. Darius divides the empire into one
hundred satrapies (chapter 2.1.) He sits a
council secret²ly, if unchangeable law; he issues a proclama-
tion to all peoples, nations and languages that dwell in
the earth (chapter 2.25.) and the author later according to
his wish and refers nowhere to any overlord. (chapter 2.1.)

The preterite may be 'divided' into two heads. First,
why does the author of Daniel believe that the Mesopotamian
Empire before the Persians?

Secondly, why does he call his Mesian King by the
familiar name of parīs?

A. In order to answer the first question it is nec-
essary to give a very brief outline of the Mesian history
according to the records of Herodotus, the Greek historian
who lived in the 5th century B.C.³
The Mesian history is at all correct according to the records
of Herodotus, the Greek historian, who lived in the 5th century B.C.⁴

Demetrius in Asia (17-18, 19). This is also a section
to be read very carefully. The little history that
follows (from a historic perspective of the formation of
Media (see De la Motte Fouquet 189 ff.)) The son of Deyokes
was Phraortes who is really the first historical King of
Media. (According to Herodotus he must have reigned 646-625
B.C., Title 401.) Following the account of Herodotus, not
content with ruling over the Medes alone Phraortes sought
to first subjugate the Persians. Then at the head of the
combined forces of Persians and Medes he set out to conquer
Asia passing from one people to the other. Finally he at-
tacked the Assyrians, at that time isolated by the defection
of their allies, and not only suffered defeat, but was
killed during the expedition, having lost twenty-two thousand.
(See De la Motte 187 ff. for full discussion.) His reign
coincided with the last twenty-two years of that of Assyrian
Sardanapalus. (Title 403) It is certainly striking
in that this King never follows the example of his prede-
cessor in attacking Media, the power of Phraortes being in
all probability too great to admit of any such attempt.

If we take up the chronology of Herodotus the date of Phra-
ortes' attack on Assyria (625 B.C.) coincides with the fall of

the death of Ashurbanipal and the defection of Babylon from the Assyrian rule. In spite of this difficult position, however, Assyria seemed to have still possessed sufficient power to cast off the Medes. Sardanapalus was succeeded by his son Cyaxares who completed his father's work. Under this monarch, the Median power reached the summit of its greatness. (See in this connection De Lagarde 175, ff.) Following the account of Herodotus (1. 73, 74.) Cyaxares, carefully re-organizing the Median army; dividing the spearmen, archers and cavalry into separate troops, marched with his entire force against Nineveh intending, in vengeance for the defeat ^{and} for the death of his father, completely to destroy the city. His first success owing to the Scythian irruption into his kingdom, he was forced to raise, but finally, shaking off the barbarians he besieged Nineveh, now and then an agent of the Assyrian power.

According to the account of Diodorus, which, by the trustworthy Babylonian King Xerxes son Nebuchadnezzar was related to the brother of the Median chief, indeed the Medes did this siege. (see Hildebrandt, 416.) It should be noticed, however, that Diodorus is not altogether correct upon this point, for Cyaxares did not live at this time, but

100. The Assyrian king, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, who reigned from 705 to 681 B.C., is mentioned in the Bible as having destroyed the city of Jerusalem (Isaiah 37:36-38; 2 Kings 19:36; 20:1; 21:1). The fall of Jerusalem is described in the Bible as a great disaster, and the king of Assyria is mentioned as having been killed by his own sons. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

About the fall of the city of Jerusalem there is no mention in the Bible or in the contemporary inscriptions, the only mention being from a Hebrew inscription being: *Ašur-šarru-šarru*. (See *Revue de l'Assyriologie* 1901, p. 101.) The fall of the city of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The fall of Jerusalem is also mentioned in the Bible as a sign of the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

crossing Asia in 301 with the intention of attacking the ruins of the great city, or those of Ninus, were belittled by the Persians. (Anabasis 8. 1. 1-12; Delattre Notes 187; Table III. No care also in this connection Zephaniah 2. 1-15-cited by Delattre 188.) It seems generally recognized and the opinion of just all antiquity (the untrustworthy report of Abydenus excepted) that the Medes played the chief part in the ruin of Assyria, and in this historical fact I believe lies the key to the solution of the problem of Darius the Median.

The interpolation by the author of Daniel of a Median rule in Babylon directly after the fall of the Babylonian Empire, may possibly depend on a confusion between the story of the fall of Nineveh and the account of the overthrow of Babylon. Nineveh fell at the hand of the Medes. Some authors might differ as to the name of the Median prince who destroyed it, but it seems to have been generally recognized by the ancients that the Medes captured and overthrew the City. Babylon was conquered by Cyrus the Persian, who about a few years previously had been the Median's ally to his standard. (The more national feeling of the Median

Xerxes (Artaxerxes) and it is stated that he established one hundred and forty satrapies. Darius Hystaspes was the father of Xerxes and according to Herodotus (3.8) established twenty satrapies. Darius the Median entered into possession of Babylon after the death of Belshazzar, and Darius Hystaspes conquered Babylon from the hands of the rebels. (Herodotus 3. 153-160.) It seems clear from this comparison and in view of the impossibility of reconciling with history the existence of a Median ruler of Babylon, that the name Darius in Daniel is due to a confusion with that of the son of Hystaspes. (Compare Peers Richtige Vereeniging der Regeerdersjahre 22. Havernick Commentary 210. Bartholdt Commentary IV. Lenwerke 130. Pleek Einl 25. Rösch Theol Stud. & Krit. 1831 part 2. 277.) Just as Xenophon made Gyaxares the son of Astaces, so the writer of Daniel must have made his Darius the son of Xerxes and in addition to this, transplanted in a distorted form certain facts of the reign of Darius Hystaspes to the reign of Darius the Mede. (The idea as stated by Friedrich Delitzsch in the Halber Bible-lexicon 137, 138. That the original of Darius the Median may have been Cyrus' brother Urbane (Qobras).

Note--28--A similar confusion of persons is seen in the well known Greek legend concerning the fiery death of Sardanapalis. (Aššurbanipal) Prof. Haupt in his corrections and additions to Askt. Zk2. 282, 284., advanced the explanation that this account arose from a confusion in later tradition between Sardanapalus and his half-brother Šamaššumukin who, having rebelled in Babylon against his brother, perished in the flames when the city was captured by the victorious Assyrian King. This theory was virtually adopted by Lehmann Sam. page 2, in spite of his polemical remarks.

who captured Babylon (See below.) seems very unsatisfactory.)

Darius the Mede seems to have been the product of a mixture of traditions; on the one hand, the capture and destruction of Nineveh by the Medes, sixty-eight years before the fall of Babylon, may have contributed to the historical confusion of the author's mind and influenced him to insert a Median rule in Babylon before the Persians, while on the other hand the fame of the great Darius Hystaspes and of his capture of Babylon from the rebels, may have led to the choice of the name "Darius" for the Median interloper, and induced the Biblical writer to ascribe in a vague way certain events of the life of the former to the reign of the latter.

It seems apparent therefore that the interpolation of Darius the Median must be regarded as the third and perhaps the most glaring inaccuracy of ^{the Book of Daniel.}

To recapitulate briefly; the assertion that Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon the introduction of the Queen Dowager at a feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon, and the interpolation of a Median King Darius between the native Babylonian and the Persian dynasties are all contrary to history.

Note 29- The Babylonian proper names in Daniel seem to be for the most part genuine. Compare Arioch Belteshazzar and Abednego which are traceable to a ^{Bab}ylonian original,- see Frederick Delitzsch in the preface to Esar and Delitzsch-Text of Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel. It is interesting to note in this connection between the ^{the difference} general ^{name} names in Daniel and the spurious character of those in the undisputably late book of Judith

It may well be asked, however, if these inaccuracies necessarily show that the whole account of the fifth chapter is invented, and if it is not possible that there can be more an echo of true history which can still be detected.

This question can certainly be answered in the affirmative. It is demonstrated by the cuneiform inscription that at least ^{the} name Belshazzar is based on correct tradition, in spite of the errors in which the author fell regarding the person. Although undoubtedly wrong in considering Belshazzar the last King of Babylon, the writer of Daniel may have been influenced in this particular by tradition. Belshazzar was the son of the last King, who was of an intolent and peace-loving temperament, and if commander in chief of the army the Prince must have been very actively concerned in the conflict with the invading Persians. As stated above he was very probably a person of great political prominence in the Empire and may have been possessed of even more influence than his father. If this were the case, a legend making the crown Prince the real King is easily explainable.

In at least one point concerning Belshazzar the author of Daniel seems to be approximately correct. The

Note 30--Just when Nabonidus died is not certain. It is stated in the annals that he was taken prisoner in Babylon by the Persian General Gobryas, and according to Perosus (Jos. C. ap. 1. 20. See below chapter 4 and Noldeke, Aufsätze zur altpersischen Gesch. 22. Tiele Gesch. 476.) was kindly treated by Cyrus and sent to Carmania as Governor of the province where he probably remained until dislodged by Darius Hystaspes (See above page 94 f.) Tiele referring this passage ^{with others} to the King, suggested that Nabonidus was really killed and Belšarucur sent to Carmania in accordance with the account of Perosus . (?)

Note 31--Compare Tiele Gesch. 476. Fudinger, Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus page 14; Evers, Das Emporkommen der pers. Macht unter Cyrus. & Malevy Melanges 4 , all considered that this passage referred to the death of

ill-fated Belshazzar was slain on the day of the capture of the City by the Persians. (Chapter 5, 29.) It is extremely probable that Belshazzar, the King's son, met his death soon after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus' forces. In the annals of Nabonidus column 3, is a mutilated passage, line 23, which has long been recognized as the account of the death of some important person. Many, thinking that it referred to the death of Nabonidus, translated it "the King died" others, "the wife of the King died". From an entirely new collation of the inscription, Doctor Hagen has recently explained this passage as a record of the slaying of the King's son; believing that he can recognize the words "mâr šarri," "son of the King", before the verb he translates "Gobryas (Cyrus' General see below) went against . . . and killed the son of the King." (Pa2 247 1891.) If this reading be correct, it is probable that after the capture of Babylon Belshazzar with a remnant of the royal troops made a last despairing resistance which was crushed by Cyrus' General Gobryas and the patriot Prince thus met his death at the hands of the invader. The annals go on to state that the soldiers were instituted probably by order of Cyrus himself.

Nabonidus. Weinhold dissertation 30. Note 2 referred the allusion to Belshazzar reading, "the King died," and considering him King of the City. Winckler Uag 155. gives traces of the sign "dam-aššatu," (Also Pinches.) which would give the reading "the wife of the King died."

Note 32--It is interesting to notice that ~~one~~ of the two Babylonian rebels against Darius Hystaspes gave ^{themselves} himself out to be Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus. This certainly seems to show that at that time Belšaracur, the first-born son of the King, was generally known to be dead, as otherwise his name would have served as a more promising catch word for rebellion than that of a younger Prince. According to Beh 1. 16: 3, 13: 4. 2. the names of these two rebellious chiefs were Nadintabel son of Amri, who seems to have been for a short time successful in his rebellion, as there are a few contract dating from the first year of his reign, (Hommel Gesch. 787. note 1.), and Arakh, an Armenian, son of Mandikes. Nothing is known of this Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonidus.

As H. en v. rightly remarks however nothing certain can be known about the event chronicled in this passage until a public text is discovered which will surely be forthcoming, if his interpretation is correct and this is really a record of the death of Belshazzar, the concordance of both Herodotus and Xenophon as well as the Book of Daniel that the last King of Babylon was slain at the time of the capture of the City may be a perversion of this account of the death of the King's son. (Compare the account of Herodotus I. 190, 191. and the Cyropedia V. 5. 15. and also in this connection Isaiah 14. 18. where the prophet clearly expected the complete overthrow of Babylon and destruction of the last King. (See chapter 4.)

We may conclude then that in the case of the Book of Daniel the tradition that the author followed in calling the last King Belshazzar may have arisen from the prominence of the son of Nabonidus during his father's reign and perhaps especially towards its close in the overthrow of Babylon.

The statement that Belshazzar was slain about the time of the capture of the City perhaps and its origin therefore in the death of Belshazzar at the side of the

Note 33.- In the annals of Nabonidus B. C. mention is made of a religious festival (the New Year's feast.) which took place probably about twelve months before the capture of the city. This, Andrea New. d. Cl.'88. page 257 etc., believed to be the original of the festival of the Fook of Daniel; a very improbable theory.

Feast.

In this connection should be noticed that the Book of Daniel makes mention of a feast which took place on the eve of the capture of Babylon. (Usseniuk commentary 176 following Vorsius Exercit. Acad. 4. identified this final feast of the Book of Daniel with the "Σακεα", which according to Athenaeus (Deipnos. 14. 439.) corresponded to the saturnalia.) Although we have no parallel account of such an event in the inscriptions it seems to be rather a significant coincidence that both Herodotus and Xenophon allude to a festival about this time. According to Herodotus 1. 111. (See below.) Babylon after a siege of some length, was captured, when the attention of the besiegers was distracted during a festival by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates and entering the city by way of the river bed (The allusion in Jeremiah 51. 39. referred to by Rawlinson's Herodotus volume 1. 424. is surely general and cannot be understood as referring to a final festival.

Xenophon also alludes to the capture of Babylon
says (Anab. 1. 10) Βαβυλῶνα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ βασιλεὺς
ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρελθὼν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσάγων



As the inscription give no assistance in this case it is not easy to say when or under what circumstances such a festival took place. In view however of the striking agreement of the biblical record with the account of Herodotus, it seems possible to assume that there may be an historical background for the story of the feast of Belshazzar. As remarked above, note to verse 3, the detail of the presence of women at a feast is probably ^a true touch from Babylonian times.

It seems not improbable then that the fifth chapter of Daniel although full of inaccuracies may still contain an echo of true history.

As mentioned above, the entire Book of Daniel must now be regarded as a production of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the appropriateness of the narrative of the fifth chapter to the reign of this King is especially striking. The whole account of this section seems to be a direct allusion to the robbing of the temple vessels by Antiochus Epiphanes the fate of Belshazzar being presented as a consolation to the Jews that the Seleucidian monarch must sooner or later be overthrown by the divinely appointed (so Bartholst, Lohmeyer, Hitzig, Fleck Einl. 411 etc.)

Note 34-- It has been argued that the narrative of the fifth chapter is not precisely parallel with the account of the profanation of the vessels by the Syrian monarch; that Antiochus did not use the vessels at a feast but merely took them to relieve his exchequer (So Paul Commentary 115; Andrea op. cit. 248.) and that furthermore the comparatively mild attitude of Belshazzar towards the Jews does not agree with the raging intolerance of Antiochus Epiphanes as described in Maccabees (Andrea 219.) With regard to the first objection there is no proof that the vessels were not actually profaned by Antiochus. Compare Hitzig, Commentary 78, who referred the narrative of the fifth chapter to the ceremonies and feasts held by Antiochus at Daphne, while in the second instance the "illness" of Belshazzar towards the Jews is to be ascribed to fear of the mysterious portent.

Antiochus Epiphanes after his conquest of Egypt went up to Jerusalem and carried away the gold and silver and sacred vessels of the sanctuary. (1 Macabees 1. 21. Josephus Antiquities 12. 5. 4.) This sacrilege accompanied as it was by a great massacre (1 Macabees 1. 24.) left the Jews in the deepest dejection; "The virgins and young men were made feeble and the hearts of the women were changed." (Verse 26.)

The allusion would be even plainer if we might suppose that Antiochus and his retainers used the sacred vessels either for private uses or at sacrificial feasts in honor of the Greek gods; a supposition which is certainly not improbable although no mention is made in the Maccabæan record of such a profanation.

If now it be admitted that the Book of Daniel in general, and the fifth chapter in particular, were written with a general panegyric object in the name of Antiochus Epiphanes and that the author in his narrative chapters had no intention to represent actual occurrences of the time of the Babylonian conquest of Babel, in forming his titles may he not have intended to furnish us with a key, by which we may

The fact that the author makes the Babylonian ^{King} ~~liberally~~ profane the sacred Jewish vessels, certainly shows that he had no idea of representing any ill-will towards the Jews in the King's mind. In any case, an exact agreement between the warning narrative and the actual facts would be hardly necessary.

Note 35. For the discussion of the unity of the Book of Daniel see additional note 3.

Note--36. See Fleck Hist. B.C. The story of Josephus, antiquities 10. 11. 2. differs slightly from the Biblical account in this respect, as the events are not all crowded into one night. The King in search of an interpreter issued a proclamation through all the land, bade his "Chini-mother" advise him to call Daniel. After Daniel's interpretation, the fulfillment of the prophecy did not take place directly but "after a little while"

CHAPTER III.

-----000-----

ADDITIONAL NOTE I.

-----000-----

The most important references to Belšaruḫ in the published contracts are the following:-

(a) Str. Nbd. 184 where mention is made of "Nabukin-axi sipiri ša Belšaruḫ mar šarri--" N. the Scribe of Belš. the son of the King. Dated 25 Nis¹⁰ 5th year of Nab. translation R.P. III. 124. ff.

(b) BOR II 17/18. Boscawen.- Revillout Obligations en droits Egyptiens p. 895.-- Strm. Congres de Laide. No.80-- Tablet S. + 329. 79, 11, 17, mention of the same person & Nabu--cabit- gate the Major domo of Belsarḫ the son of the King. Dated 7th year of Nab. Boscawen concludes from the mention of these especial servants of the King's son so early in his Father's reign that the Prince must have been born before the accession of Nabonidus. A conclusion hardly warranted by the premises as the exact age when a King's son had his separate household is not known.

It should be remarked however, that if Belsar, were in command of the army in the 17th and last year of his father's

reign. The Prince was probably older than 17, Compare also in this connection the statement recorded below that in the 1st year of Nab. a plot of ground was sold to a servant of Belsar. for his Lord. (

(c) Str. Nbd. 581, Translation R.P. III. 124 & 125 mention of Nabu-cabit-gate the steward of Bels. the "mar sarri." Dated 11th year of Nabonidus.

(d) Str. Nbd. 688. Transl. R.P. III. 124--allusion to same official, dated 12th year.

(e) Str. Nbd. 662. Translation Bal. 527--No.25. Zehnpfund-- A list of garments. "5 cubat esirti ana xuba so kurummate sarri Belsarucur"-- 5 temple vestments unto the royal steward of Belsar. Dated 12th year. This is the only allusion to the King's son known to me, where he is not especially called "mar sarri." The omission of the title in this case was probably because the mention of the royal steward shows who is meant.

(f) BOR. II. 17, N.1.-- Roscawen Record of an offering made by the son of the King in Ebarra. Dated 7th year.

Nabu-cabit-gate- (Nabo seizes the hands) was the name of the Major domo of Neriglissar, (Nbk. 34 2/6, 1, 5--See Strm. A.V.)and of his son Labas-i-Marduk(Ngl. 2 10/6, 2, (A.V.))

(BOR. II. 44, 48.) The steward of Belsar. may be the

same person.

To the contracts just mentioned should be added the two references to Belsar. treated of by Pinches *Indepen.* Aug 15, 1889.

(a) Sale of a plot of ground by Marduk-eriba to Bel-Rešua servant of Belsarucur son of the King, dated 26, Veadar, 1st year of Nabonidus.

(b) The record on a small tablet from Sippar that Esaggila-rāmat daughter of the King (Nab.) paid her tithe to Šamaš through Belsar(ucur.) Dated 5th of Ab. 17th year of Nabonidus. This payment took place in the month before Sippar was captured by the Persians. Pinches *op. cit.* believing that it had been already captured by the forces of Cyrus, tries to show that the city must have been retaken by the Babylonians. Sippar was not taken by the Persians until the 14 of Tammuz of Nabonidus' 17th year.

The attempt of Boscawen *T.S.B.A.* VI. 27-28 followed by Andrea *Bew. d. gl.* '88, 250 *Cheyne Encycl. Britt.* VI. 803 etc. to identify Marduksarucur whose fifth year he thought he had discovered on a tablet with Belsarucur is unsuccessful. The contract he refers to belongs to the time of Neriglissar cf. *Tiele gesch.* 476. *Strm. Congrès de Leide* n. 115, p. 586.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 2.

-----c0o-----

It was generally recognized by the Ancients, that the Book of Daniel was an authentic production. The references in the New Testament; i.e. Matt. 24, 15; Mark 13, 14; referring to Dan. 9, 27; and 12, 11; (cf. Josephus Ant. X. 10, 4; 11, 7; XII. 7, 6;) and the Talmud (Baba Batra f. 13, 14; ed. Venet. 1548.) ascribe the Book especially to Daniel. In Ant. X. 11, 8, 4; Josephus relates the oft-cited fable that the Prophecies of Daniel were shown to Alex. the Great on his entry into Jerusalem. Jerome refers to the work as a // of all the world. (Epist. ad. Paulinum.)

The first known writer who doubted the authenticity of the Book of Daniel was the Neo-Platonist. Porphyrius, (A.D. 304) who in his great work of fifteen books directed against the Christians (Λυσὶς κατὰ Χριστιανισμοῦ) devoted the whole twelfth-book to an attack on Daniel, which he declared to have been originally in Greek, the work of a Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (Prooemium Hieron. opp. v. p. 267.) The works of Porphyrius were all collected and burnt by orders of the Emperors Constantine and Theodosius, so that his views have descended to posterity only through the works of Jerome (opp. cit.) who attempted to refute his arguments. According to the statement of Jerome, he was also answered by Metho-

dus, Apollonaris of Laodicea and Eusebius of Caesarea.

According to Origen VII. 7 & 5, Mosh. the pagan Celsus is said to have expressed a doubt concerning the truth of the occurrences described in Daniel.

The following Commentators regarded the Book of Daniel either as a whole or in part as belonging to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Collins Lehrgebäude ^{von} des Buchstablichen Verstande der Weissagungen untersucht, 1726, London.

Semmler Untersuchungen des Canons III. 505.

Corrodi Versuche über verschiedene in Theologie & Bibelkritik einschlagende gegenstände, Berlin 1783. Versuch einer Beleuchtung der geschichte des jüdischen und Christlichen Bibelkanons Vol. I. Halle 1792, pp. 75, 95.

Bichhorn--Einl in das A.T. 3 & 4. Ausgabe. Bertholdt Daniel. The commentaries of Kirms 1828: Redepanning 1833, Leng 1835. Ewald & Hitzig.

Bunsen, Gott in der Geschichte p. 302; 514; 540, 1 Teil. 1857. Lücke, p. 41.

Siegfried-: Bleek, Einleitung, Riehm Einl. II. 292, Strack Hndb. der Theol. Wiss. 1, (1885) 172, (Herzog VII. 419.)

V. Orelli O.T. Proph. 455, Schlottmann Compendium der A.T.-lichen Theol. 1889 & '87. Reuss. Einl. 1880, p. 592, ff.

C.A.Briggs. Mess. Proph. 411 f. Driver 467.

Among the defenders of the authenticity of the book should be mentioned:

Lüderwald--Die 6 ersten Capitel Dan. n. historischen Gründen geprüft and berichtigt, 1787. Jahn 1810; Dereser. 1810 (answering Bertholdt). Pareau--Institutio Interpret. V. 1, p. 424--425. Roybaards 1821. Sack, Ackermann 1829. Hengstenberg 1831; Hävernick (answered by Droysen Geschichte d. Hellenen, V. II. p. 346.) Zündel 1861; Hilgenfeld 1863; Kranichfeld 1868. Keil, Delitzsch, Caspari, Pusey, Andrea Beweis des Glaubens. '88, p. 241, ff. Dusterwald, Die weltreiche and das Gottesreich nach den Weissagungen des Propheten Daniels 1890, (reviewed by Siegfried. Theol. Lit. Zeitung 10 Jan. 1891.) etc, etc.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 3.

-----oOo-----

THE BILINGUAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

-----oOo-----

The book of Daniel must be regarded as a unit. Some critics however have believed in a separate origin for the first six chapters. Thus Sack Herbst and Davidson attributed the second part of the work to Daniel, but regarded the first six Chapters as an introduction to the visions, written by a later Jew.

Eichhorn (3 & 4 Ed.) believed that Ch. II 4- VI. were written by one author, and Ch. 7--12 with I.-II 3 by another.

The fact that from Ch. II 4, through Ch. VII. the book is written in Aramaean has influenced some scholars to believe that the Aramaean portions have a separate origin from the other parts of the work. Zockler, for example, (p.18) following Kranichfeld considered the Aramaean as ^{Section} extracts from a contemporary journal in the vernacular, while Driver Introd. 482/3, although seeing the strong objections to such a view with some caution remarks, that the theory of a separate origin for these parts deserves consideration. Strack. in Zockler's Hand-b. I. 165 believes that the Aramaean portions were in existence from the time of Alexander. Cf. Meinhold Diss. 33, and Beiträge L. 32, 70, 1888, Lenormant Magie. Germ.

Ed. 527, 505, and Lagarde Mittheil, II 351, (1891) commenting on the opinion of J.D. Michaelis-- Orientalische and Exegetische Bibliographie, 2, 141.-- the book of Daniel consisted of a number of parts of separate origin; A view held by Bertholdt 48, ff. and Augusti, but now generally rejected. See Fleck 415, Reuss. 589. Lagarde says in this connection that the bilingual character of the work is an evidence that it is a "Bundel von Flugblättern" (cf. also op. cit. 364, 365,)

The view that the book of Daniel is not the production of one author, is hardly consistent however with the uniform character of the entire work.

It must be remembered that the Aramaean Chapters are not wholly narrative, Ch. 2, being devoted to the interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and containing substantially the same prophecies as we find in the second part. Chapter 7 is certainly as apocalyptic in character as any of the following sections. Moreover, the natural division of the book is undoubtedly after Chapter 6, so that if the difference of language were the sign of a separate origin for these sections we would expect Ch. 7, the beginning of the distinctly apocalyptic portion to be in Hebrew, which however is not the case.

The Aramaean 7th Chapter belongs as completely to the

Dr. Bezold the Editor of ZA calls attention to the fact in a footnote that the author is referring to the bricks of Tello of which there are some examples in the Museums of Paris & Berlin. The inscription was ^{treated} published by De Vogüé, & Schrader as well as in the Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum. See the Literature on the subject quoted Schrader K.B. III. 2. 142 n.

following Hebrew apocalyptic parts as the Hebrew first chapter is essentially part of the following Aramaean narrative sections. (In this connection see above p. 70 and Driver, Introd. 482.)

The complete interdependence of all the chapters is such that the entire book must be regarded as the work of a single Author.

Various attempts have been made to explain the sudden change of language in II.4. Some commentators thought that Aramaean was the vernacular of Babylonia and was consequently employed as the language of the parts relating to that country. (So Kliefoth, 1868, Dan. 44, and Keil 14.) Such a view is of course no longer tenable as the cuneiform inscriptions now show that the Babylonian language was in use until quite a late date.

Noldeke's theory Sem. Spr. 41, f., that the Ass. language died as a spoken idiom shortly before the fall of Nineveh, seems entirely unfounded. Gutbrod, Z.A. VI. 27, relates that in 1887 he saw a brick upon which was engraved in Aram. and Gk. letters, a proper name of distinctly Assyrian character; *Ἰσχυρὸς Ἀνδρόμαχος*. When it is remembered that a living language exercises the greatest possible influence on the

formations of proper names, this brick which is unfortunately undated would seem to be an evidence, as he thinks, that Assyrian was spoken until Hellenic times.

As a literary language however it may have survived as late as the 2d century after Christ. (See op. cit. p. 29, ff)

It is equally unconvincing to suppose that Aramaean, as the popular tongue of the period when the book was written was used for the narrative parts and Hebrew, as the more learned language for the philosophical portions; (note \pm) because Ch. I. which is just as much in the narrative style as the following Aramaean sections, is in Hebrew, while the distinctly apocalyptic Ch. 7, is in Aramaean.

A third supposition that the bilingual character of the work points to a time when both Hebrew and Aramaean were used differently, (note 2) is certainly strange, as it is very questionable if two languages can ever be used quite indifferently. A hybrid work in two idioms would certainly be a monstrosity.

Huetius (Demonstr. Evang. 472 quoted Berth. p. 51) believed that the entire work was written originally in Aramaean and translated subsequently into Hebrew. In the troubled Seleucidan Period, he thought that the Hebrew edition was

1st NOTE: The opinion of Merx. cf. Lenormant *Magie Germ.*
Ed. p. 527.

2d NOTE: cf. Bertholdt p. 15, (and later Havernick.)
Delitzsch, Franz, R.E. III. 272, followed substantially the
the
same theory, considering that change was due to the Aram.
answer of the Chaldaeans in Ch. 2, V. 4.

partly destroyed and the missing portions supplied from the original Aramaean. This theory, although very ingenious, does not however commend itself as the most satisfactory explanation.

Bertholdt Comm. 52, in commenting on Huetius' view has hit upon what seems to me ^{the} proper solution of the problem, but did not adopt it; i.e. he remarked that it had not yet occurred to anyone to consider the Aramaean text as a translation and the Hebrew as the original. In view of the apparent unity of the entire work which B. did not recognize, no other explanation for its bilingual character seems possible. The book was probably written originally at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes all in Hebrew, but in the course of time when Hebrew became less easily understood, a translation was made into the Aramaean vernacular. We must suppose then that certain parts of the original Hebrew Mss. being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaean translation.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

The Mysterious Writing.

-----oo00oo-----

Having set forth as far as possible the proper light in which the record of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel should be regarded, a thorough investigation of the account of the Mysterious Writing is next in order.

The question which should be settled seems to be whether the biblical account of the appearance of this enigmatical sentence is to be considered as a pure invention of the Author of Daniel, or, like certain other statements in the fifth chapter, as having a historical background.

The sentence which appeared on the wall contains a carefully worded prophecy of the downfall of the Babylonian empire and dynasty, and the transfer of the power to the Medes and Persians. It may be well therefore, before entering on the discussion concerning the historical character of the Biblical account, to state briefly the actual history of the fall of Babylon.

Previous to the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions

Ποτε :-

Λαζοφοδοιοφόρος τττ ἐμπειρὰ εἰς ἡγεσται ριότητι Ἀξίστε
ἀνδρίαν, βασιλευσάτος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας
κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Φυλμαρίδης. Οὗτος προὐχὼς
τῶν πραγμάτων λίανως καὶ ἀπελθὼς, ἐπεβουλεύει εἰς
ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆν ἀδελφῆν ἔχειτο αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίνγιονσσόρος
ἀνιέρειν, βασιλευσας ἔτη δύο. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνιέρειν
τοῦτον διαδέξινενος τῆν ἀρχὴν ἐπεβουλεύσας αὐτῷ
Ἀγρίνγιονσσόρος ἐβουλεύει, ἔτη τεττάρη. Τούτου
υἱὸς Λαζοφοδοίχκος ἐκτίεινσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας πλὴν
ὅν μὴν ἂν ἐπὶ, ἐπεβουλεύει εἰς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐμικτίει
κακὸν ἔργον, ἐπὶ τῷ φίλῳ ἀπετηρημένῳ. Ἀποτυμείει
δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οὐ ἐπεβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ
τῆν βασιλείαν περιέδωκεν Ἀγρίνῳ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐκ
Βαβυλώνης, ὅτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστροφῆς. x x x
x x x ὅπως δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ
ἑπτακίδεκάτῳ ἔτει, περὶ ἐξεληλυθὼς Κύρος ἐκ τῆς
Περσίας μετὰ συνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ κατασκευάμενος
τὴν Ἀσσίαν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς
Βαβυλωνίας. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ Λαβότιγδος τὴν ἔφοδον
αὐτοῦ ἀπατήσας μετὰ τῆς συνάμεως καὶ
παρατάξιμους, ἦιτην εἰς τὴν μάχην καὶ φιλῶν
ὁλεσθέντος συνεκλήθη εἰς τὴν Βορσπηνητὴν
πελὸν. Κύρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος, καὶ
τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τέλει κατὰ σκάψαι διὰ τὸ ἔχειν
αὐτῷ πρυμνατικὴν καὶ δυσάλωται φανήναι τῇ
πόλει, ἀνέχεσθαι ἐπὶ Βίβσσην, ἐκπολιορκήσας
τὸν Ναβονηγδο.

relating to this event, comparatively little could be known accurately.

The chief sources upon which historians were forced to depend were the account of Perosus which Eusebius and Josephus took from Alexander Polyhistor, and the narrative of Herodotus l. 198 ff. The statement of the former in Josephus Contra Ap. l. 20. is as follows : "Nabuchodonosor x x x fell sick and departed this life when he had reigned forty-three years, whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissar his sister's husband and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissar, the person who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom and reigned four years. His son Labosoarchod, though but a child, obtained the kingdom and kept it nine months, but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him by his friends and he was tortured to death. After his death the conspirators got together and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus a man of Babylon and one who belonged to that insurrection. x x x But when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great

τῷ δὲ Λαζονύδῳ οὐκ ὑπομέναντες τὴν πολιορκίαν
ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίζαντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτον· χρηστάμειος
κῦρος φιλανθρωπῶς, καὶ δοὺς δοκητήριον αὐτῷ
Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεριψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαζυλωνίας.
Λαζονύγδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου
διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε
τὸν βίον

army and having already conquered the rest of Asia, came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonnedus perceived that he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces and joining battle was defeated and fled away with a few of his troops and shut himself up within the city of Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon and gave order that the outer wall of the city be demolished because the city had proved very troublesome, and cost him a great deal of pains to take. He then marched to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus. As Nabonnedus however did not sustain the siege but delivered himself up he was at first kindly used by Cyrus who gave him Carmania as a place to dwell in, sending him out of Babylon. Nabonnedus, accordingly, spent the rest of his life in that country and there died."

Herodotus l. 188. ff. relates that the King of Babylon Labynetus, the son of the great queen Nitocris, was attacked by Cyrus. The Persian king on his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes a tributary of the Tigris. While the Persians were trying to cross this stream, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entered the water and, being swept away by the rapidity of the current was lost. Cyrus exasperated by the accident, suspended his operations against Babylon and wasted the entire summer in satisfying his re⁽¹²⁶⁾

note 2. —

Τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἄπαραι ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ
ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλλει καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ
τῇ πόλει, τάξας εἰέροντες, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ἐποταμίζῃ. Ἡροεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ἔταν διαβατοὶ τὸ
ρεέθρον. Ἰδοὺτε γειτόνιοι, ἐσιείτε ταυτὴν ἐς τὴν
πόλιν. Οὕτω τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παφαινέας
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀχίρην τοῦ στρατοῦ.

+ + + + τὸν γὰρ πύλας διώρυχας ἐξαγανῶν
ἐστὶν ἡμίτην ἐδῶσαν ἑλπίς, καὶ ἀχίρην ρέεθρον
διαβατοὶ εἶναι ἐποταμίζῃ. Ἦν Ἡρότα, ἔπειτα
ἐτετάχοντο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ρέεθρον τοῦ
Εὐφράτηα, πύλας ὑπενευστηκίως ἀνδρῶν
ὡς ἐς μέσσην μετὰ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο
ἐσθῆσαν ἐστὶν Βαβυλῶνα.

sentment by draining the river dry. On the approach of the following spring he marched against Babylon. The Babylonians, as he advanced met and gave him battle but were defeated and driven back into the city. The inhabitants of Babylon however had previously guarded against a siege by collecting provisions and other necessities sufficient for many years' support, so that Cyrus was compelled to resort to stratagem. He placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel and attack the town wherever the passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground x x x and pierced the bank, introducing the river into the lake, (the lake made by Nitocris some distance from Babylon. See Herodotus l. 185.), by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians in their station watched the proper opportunity and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. The account goes on to say that, as the Babylonians were engaged in a festival, they were completely surprised by the sudden attack and una-

ble to defend the city, which thus fell an easy prey to the invaders.

The two cuneiform documents relating to the fall of Babylon, which have shed a wonderful light on this period of the world's history, are the Cyrus Cylinder and the Annals of Nabonidus. The former was discovered in 1879 by the assistants of Hormuzd Rassam in the ruins of Qaqr at Babylon, a hill which according to the opinion of Rassam covers the remains of a great palace.

The tablet called the Annals of Nabonidus was obtained by the British Museum in 1879 from Spartoli & Co. The place where it was found is unknown, although Mr. Pinches declares decidedly that the document came from Babylon. It seems to belong to a series of annalistic tablets which were collected and preserved by the Achaemenian kings. (Compare Hagen BA 2. 206. and see appendix 1.) For the convenience of the reader a translation of both of these inscriptions has been given in appendix 1.

These two important documents must of course be considered as the historical authority concerning the fall of Babylon and all other accounts should be judged according to their agreement with the cuneiform records. The chief points

Note 3.---For the chronology of Cyrus' reign, his ancestry and kingdom see additional note.

Note 4.---VR. 64. 17. The Medes during the reign of Nabonidus had attacked Harran and destroyed the city and temple of Sin.

Note 5.---Herodotus 1. 76. Note that Justin Hist. 1. 7. 4. inverts the order of conquest, placing that of Babylonia before Lydia, while Sulpicius Hist. 2. 10. passed directly from the Median conquest to that of Babylonia.

Croesus, king of Lydia, whom Cyrus captured was according to Herodotus 1. 76. the brother-in-law of Astyages. Cyrus treated him kindly and gave him the city of Bareine near Ecabatana as a residence ; according to Ctesias Phot. 36. b. 17., with 5000 riders and 10,000 bowmen as retinue.

of difference between the account of the inscriptions and the narratives of Herodotus and Herodotus, just given, have been remarked upon in the notes and will be easily apparent.

Before passing on to the history of the approach of the Persians on Babylonia the following facts should be noticed. After Cyrus king of Ansan, according to the record of the Annals, had gotten possession of Media, the Persian prince, finding himself transformed from the ruler of an insignificant province to the leader of a great kingdom, turned his eyes westward. (See note to verse 28.) Here Nabonidus the king of Babylon who had at first regarded the defeat of his old enemies the Medes as a direct intervention of the gods, now becoming alarmed at the sudden rise of this new power, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Lydia and Egypt; a league which should certainly have been sufficient to check the advance of the Persian forces. Lydia was compelled however by the swift movements of the enemy to defend herself without waiting for her allies. Cyrus after totally routing the Lydian army at Pteria proceeded directly against Sardis the capital, which he captured without difficulty and there established his permanent headquarters in the north-west.

Note 6.---Herodotus 1. 153. The post of governor of Sardis was one of the most important positions in the Persian empire. This official seems to have held the precedence over the neighboring satraps. Compare Nöldeke, Aufsätze 21.

Note 7.---Compare Floigl, Cyrus & Herod. 125 who supplies "Isparda ---Sardis for the name of the place. But see Unger, ^{& Oltmanns} Cyrus & Cyax. 6. who objects quite rightly that "Isparda is the "median form whereas the name in the Babylonian would have been 'Saparda." cf. Schrader DL. 2. '81. 58. Winckler's conclusion that the country was Singara or some independent state between the rivers (Uag. 131) is rather farfetched.

The Persian king did not then hasten at once against Babylonia his second powerful rival, but, after settling affairs in Lydia and appointing governors over all the conquered provinces returned to Ecbatana.

The following historical account of the approach of Cyrus on Babylon and the fall of that empire may be gathered from the Annals of Nabonidus and the Cyrus Cylinder.

It is recorded in the Annals of the ninth year of Nabonidus (column 2. 16. 17.) that Cyrus approached the Tigris and made an expedition against some country (name effaced) whose king he killed. It has been conjectured that this is a reference to the Lydian campaign, the only great victory between the sixth and tenth years of Nabonidus, for which the Tigris would have to be crossed. The advancer of this theory evidently forgot that fully two months would have been necessary for the Persians to go from Susiana to the Halys, whereas, according to the cuneiform account, Cyrus collected his troops in Nisan (March-April) and entered the enemy's country in Iyar. (May-June) The short space of time occupied on the march shows conclusively that the object of the attack cannot have been Lydia, but was probably some country necessary as a basis of operations against that

Note 8.---Evers, *Emporkommen der Persischen Macht* 9.
note 1. Meyer *Gesch.* 603 thought that this was a reference
to the battles in the Median provinces west of the Euphrates.

Note 9.---Hagen *BA* 2. 240. see note to line in appendix
1.

Note 10.---*Annals* 2. 21. 22. The text is badly mutilated.
Sayce *Fresh Light*, translates quite wrongly "The soldiers of Elam marched into Akkad." Compare Floigl *op. cit.*
58. Halevy *Melanges* p. 2. It is highly improbable that this
can be a reference to the invasion of Lydia, (Unger *Cyrus & Assyria*,
Cyax. 7.) as the situation of Erech, so far to the south-
west would preclude the possibility of an attack on Lydia
from this quarter. (Evers 9. 10.) It is much more reason-
able to regard it as the account of an excursion against Baby-
lonia from the south.

Note 11.---Not against Cyrus.---Evers *op. cit.* 12.

Note 12.---*Annals* 3. 12. Ux-ki read "Upe"--Opis, by Pinches,
a city on the Tigris ; see literature cited by Hagen *BA*
2. 243. and note 1. The exact situation of the Salsallat
is doubtful. It seems probable, according to Hagen, that
the first conflict took place at Opis, after which the Baby-
lonians under belšaruḫar retired to the canal (?) Salsallat,

kingdom. There is really no authority for supposing that this place was on the west bank of the Tigris, as it is even doubtful if the translation "crossed" is correct.

In the tenth year of Nabonidus there seems to have been an invasion probably of the Persians from Elam, which may have been directed against Erech. The record of the Annals is unfortunately so mutilated that comparatively little can be learned about this period of the invasion. Where the text again becomes legible the matter of the conquest of Babylonia seems practically to be decided.

It is stated that Nabonidus entered the temple of Etar-kalama (Annals 3. 6.) evidently to seek help from the gods, while a rebellion against his authority took place on the lower sea (?) The god Bel was then brought out with a solemn religious festival, (Annals 3, 3. 8. 9. 10.) and as a last resource, numerous deities were brought to Babylon as a protection to that city. This so infuriated Marduk the god of the city of Babylon that he decided to deliver up Nabonidus to Cyrus. (Cyrus Cylinder 10. ff. and 33. 34.) In the month of Tamuz (539 B. C.) Cyrus offered battle at Opis and also on the canal (?) Salsallat, which evidently resulted in his favor. The Babylonians defeated on all sides and disgusted with their feeble king, surrendered Sippar to the Per-

where they were defeated. The text cannot mean Opis on the S. as this would be "Upe ša ina muxxi Salsallat." Hommel, *Gesch* 785. reads "Kiš"; others Rutu, a place in southern Babylonia. So Halevy *Melanges* 3. Sayce *Fresh Light* 171. Pinches *Tsba* 7. 174. n. 1. Budinger 12. Evers 13. note 1.

Note 13.---Evers 12. thought that in *Annals* 3. 14. was the account of a rebellion against Cyrus but compare BA 2. 244 and note to line in appendix 1.

Note 14.---So Evers 12, Floigl *op. cit.* 61. According to the account of Herodotus 1. 190. 191. (see above) Babylon was captured by the device of drawing off the water of the Euphrates. (Compare also Xenophon *Cyr.* 7. 5. 15.) This, as Floigl thought, could have been done from Sippar and the account is not excluded by the cuneiform record. The short space of time intervening between the capture of Sippar and Babylon seems to show however, that the device was not carried out.

Note 15.---Tiele's supposition is evidently correct. See *Gesch.* 472. note 3. The idea that this passage records a rebellion of the troops of Gutium (Pinches *Tsba.* Sayce *Fresh Light* 171. Hommel 783.) against Cyrus is improbable. It would be highly unlikely that Gobryas' soldiers should rebel at this time.

sians on the 14th of Tammuz (539--538 B. C. Annals 3. 14.) As this city was the key to the whole sldice region it was important for Cyrus to get possession of it before he could besiege Babylon successfully. By breaking the dams at Sippar, in case of need, the water could be cut off from all the plain. There seems however to have been no necessity for such stringent measures, as two days later (16th of Tammuz) the gates of the capital itself were opened to Gobryas, the governor of Gutium and commander of a section of the Persian army, who formally took possession of the city in Cyrus' name. (Annals 3. 15. see also Cylinder 17. "without strife and battle he let him enter into Babylon. ")

Nabonidus who had fled to Babylon after the capture of Sippar was taken prisoner and held to await the coming of Cyrus. The remnant of the Babylonian Royal Party seems to have taken refuge in the great temple of Esaggil, the gates of which were kept closed and guarded by the troops of Gobryas. (Shiela of Gutium.) The siege cannot have lasted very long, as it is stated that the besieged had no weapons.

Four months later on the third of Marchesvan Cyrus himself entered the city of Babylon and decreed peace to all, appointing his general Gobryas governor of the city, and send-

Note 16.---In the record of the Cylinder no mention is made of Gobryas ; it is merely stated that Cyrus and his army entered the city without battle. Cyl. 16. 17. It is not necessary to suppose a contradiction between the Annals and the Cylinder as the account in the latter is more general, and it was therefore unnecessary to give such details as are found in the Annals. Xenophon Cyr. 7. 5. 15. has also preserved the account of the capture of the city by Gobryas making him a great Assyrian leader, who, desiring vengeance on the King of Babylon for the murder of his only son, allied himself with Cyrus.

Note 17.---Cylinder 28. ff. Gaza alone in the land of the Philistines seems to have refused tribute and offered resistance ; compare Valesius Polyb. 16. 40. quoted Nöldeke Aufsätze 23. note 2.

ing back to their own shrines the gods which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon. The Persian monarch was received with great rejoicing by the nobles, priests and people, who hastened to declare their allegiance. (Cyr. Cyl. 18.) He then assumed formally the title of King of Babylon and of Sumer and Akkad (Cyl. 20.), receiving the homage of the tributary kings of the westland.

It is probable in accordance with the account of Berosus given above, that Cyrus dismantled to some extent the fortifications of Babylon soon after its capture. That he cannot utterly have destroyed the defenses is evident from the fact that the city stood repeated sieges during subsequent revolts. (One under Cyrus, two under Darius Hystaspes and one under Xerxes. Compare Rawlinson's Herodotus 425 note 5. For the second revolt of Babylon see Herodotus 3. 153-160---the story of Zopyrus and Justin l. c. 10. For Zopyrus compare "De Zopyro Babylonis fallente disputatio, M. Johann Christoph. 1685) Judging from the assertion of Jerome (commentary on Isaiah 44. 3.) that the walls had been repaired and renewed as an enclosure for a park they were at no time completely destroyed.

The causes which led to the fall of the Babylonian dy-

nasty and to the transferring of the empire to the Persians are not difficult to determine.

The first independent king of Babylon after the overthrow of Assyria was Nabupalucur, the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar. After a comparatively uneventful reign of twenty-one years he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the empire of Babylon. Not only a great warrior, the terror of whose arms was felt as far as Egypt, and who, by his conquests, made Babylon the political centre of a mighty empire, but also a lover of art and architecture who prized his fame as the restorer of the capital far more than his military glory. (Compare Teile Gesch. 441. 454.) Nebuchadnezzar was the ~~one~~ great^{est} name of Babylonian history, the first and last king of Babylon. His father Nabupalucur but paved the way for his great son, and his successors, by their feeble policy, merely prepared the inevitable downfall of the empire. Amilmarduk, the "Evilmerodach" of Herodotus, the son of Nebuchadnezzar was not even able to protect his own crown.

Following the account of Herodotus, a conspiracy forced him from the throne and placed Berylsarucur (periglistar), according to both Herodotus and Abydenus (Title 457.) his bro-

Note 18.---The succession of Babylonian kings given by Berosus (see above) is quite correct and agrees not only with the Ptolemaean Canon but with the cuneiform inscriptions ; -- see Tiele 423. 424 & 464 f. The Ptolemaean Canon omits only Labāsi-Marduk, son of Nergalsarucur owing to the shortness of his reign. Only those kings are recorded who governed for longer than one year ; see Floigl op. cit. 70. According to Abydenus Labāsi-Marduk was a boy not older than twelve years. See Floigl 25. and compare in this connection Tiele 424. note 2.

Note 19.---The temples which he repaired were : a.) Temple of Sin in Sippar. VR. 63. 25. a.---64. 47. b.---21 c.---65. 10. ff. b.) of Anunit. (Eulbar in Sippar. l. R. 69. c. 3. VR. 64. 22. 42. c.) Eulbar of Agane lR. 69. c. 2. 29. ff. d.) Tower of the Temple of Sin in Ur. lR. 68. No. 1. 5. and other sanctuaries, No. 6. 7. e.) Temple of Šamaš in Larsa. iR. 68. No. 4. compare 69. c. 1. & 2. f.) Of Sin in Harran VR. 64. 8 a.---46b. Compare BA 2. 237. note.

Note 20.---The king seems to have been unable either to prevent the attack of the Medes on Harran or to punish them for their destruction of the city. (see above p. 124 n.) He

was equally powerless to resist the expedition of Amasis of Cyprus against Egypt by which several cities were captured. Tiele Gesch. 468.

ther-in-law in his stead. The latter after a short reign was succeeded by his son Labaši-Marduk (the Labosoarchod of Berosus) who at the time of his accession was probably very young. This king reigned only nine months and, according to Berosus was ousted by a second coalition, which entrusted the government to Nabonidus the last Babylonian ruler. As Nabonidus was probably not of royal blood but merely the son of a noble (see above chapter 3) the account of his coming to the throne by means of a conspiracy may be substantially correct.

It will appear from this succession of events that the seeds of decay were ripening fast, as early as the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus, who, had he been a different character, might have delayed the final catastrophe at least beyond his own lifetime. But this king, as is evident from the tone of the records of his reign, was by nature a peaceful prince, whose taste lay not in government or conquest but in archaeology and religious architecture. His inscriptions are one long list of temples repaired and pious duties performed. Under his feeble sway the vast and heterogeneous empire, lacking the strong hand of a conquering ruler to punish defection and protect his subjects from foreign attacks, naturally began to fall to pieces, until finally the Baby-

Note 21.---IIR. 5. ff. Tema was evidently not a quarter of Babylon (Hommel Gesch. 779. Pinches Tsba. 7. 152.) but a place at some distance from the capital. The king would hardly have stopped so long in a quarter of the city without attending the yearly feast of Marduk. Tiele's conjecture (Gesch. 470. note 1.) that Tema was probably not in Akkad, because it is especially stated that the king was in Tema and the son of the king in Akkad, as Akkad was the general name for all Babylonia, seems improbable. (For Akkad see Lehmann Šamaššumukîn-71f.) It is impossible however to determine the exact ^tsituation of Tema.

Note 22.---Cylinder 7. probably of Esaggil, the writer of the Cyrus Cylinder may have been a priest of Marduk.

lonian name in western Asia became more a shadow than a reality.

Towards the close of his reign Nabonidus showed himself even more incapable than in his earlier years, for, while devoting especial attention to the repairing and maintenance of the Temples, he entirely neglected the defences of the capital and the annual festival of Marauk, choosing to live in Tema rather than in Babylon, and evidently leaving all military matters to his son who, as shown above, was probably in command of the army. Practically no steps seem to have been taken either to prevent the advance of the Persians or to meet them when they came, so that when Cyrus arrived he found a people in rebellion against their king and ready to exchange his rule for a firmer sway. The fact that both Sippar and Babylon were taken by the Persian forces without battle certainly seems to show that there existed a powerful faction in Babylonia in league with the invaders.

It is possible that the priests of Marauk in the city of Babylon were especially instrumental in bringing about the final blow. Probably hostile to Belshazzar the crown prince (see above), disgusted with the king's neglect of the city and of the regular offerings and finally infuriated by

Note 23-- Nabonidus was certainly not a reactionary heretic, who tried to introduce a Sin cult; (Floigl op. cit. 2.) first, because the King did not confine his attention to Sin (compare note 19.) and secondly, as Tiele has pointed out (Gesch. 460. also Evers 17. 18.) It was these very priests of Marduk who inspired him to repair the temples and to give attention to the cults of other deities. Compare BR. 64. 16. where Marduk reveals his will to Nabonidus in a dream? The insult to Marduk, which turned the scale against the King, was his criminal slothfulness about protecting Babylon and his introduction of other Gods into Marduk's own City.

his infringement on the jurisdiction of their god in introducing strange deities into Babylon they would naturally have cast their influence in favor of a change of rule. It must be remembered that the priests exercised the most powerful influence in Babylonian affairs, being even stronger than the royal house. The inscriptions of every sort point to the supremacy and importance of the religious classes, as one of the most constant themes of these documents is the frequent allusion to building of temples, temple gifts, restoration of offerings &c. This prominence of the priestly classes is to be explained by the fact that they were the custodians of all knowledge. The art of writing, astronomy and magic were their peculiar provinces. It will readily be understood therefore that their favor or disfavor would turn the scale in an attempt against the reigning dynasty. In addition to this it may be supposed that the large Jewish element, which had been transplanted by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon and which could not be expected to feel especially well disposed to the Babylonian dynasty, probably played a considerable part in the final conspiracy. In view of the swift and regular system which the empire claimed for itself it does not seem improbable that Persian emissaries had been

Note 24-- Compare the enthusiastic prophecies regarding Cyrus the shepherd of God Isaiah 41. 28: 45. 1. Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to their old home in the first year of his reign,- 537. B. C. Compare Ezra 1.

Note 24-- Isaiah 13. 14. psalm 137. Jeremiah 51. The prophecies of the destruction of Babylon were certainly not carried out. The only one fulfilled to the letter was the that regarding ^{the} return of the Jews.

in communication with the Babylonian conspirators, and seem to have been a piteous proposal to surrender. To these deserters the devout Jews, in common with the discontented Babylonian religious party, although for totally different reasons, probably listened with willingness. It may be supposed that the native Babylonians, glad at any price to be rid of their incompetent ruler were forced to make the best of the prospect of a foreign supremacy, while the religious element of the Jews to whom permission to return to Palestine may have been promised beforehand, certainly regarded Cyrus as the anointed of Jehovah who would carry out His will in every respect and utterly destroy Babylon and its Gods; a hope which Cyrus was wise enough not to realize.

As has just been intimated it is highly probable that the Babylonian conspirators were to a great extent in the power of circumstances. We cannot doubt that had opportunity offered, the faction hostile to Nabonides would have disposed of him as his predecessors had been disposed and placed another native on the throne. Unfortunately for them such a course was impossible, as the success of Cyrus and triumph over Babylon, so difficult to have been evident that

all

1

This capture of the city was a matter of time. The conspirators were therefore compelled by circumstances to accept the conspirator invader as the successor of Nabonidus.

Both Sippar and Babylon therefore were surrendered without any resistance worthy of mention and thus his self on entering the capital was received with flattering rejoicings.

Bearing in mind the facts concerning the fall of the Babylonian power we may now proceed to investigate whether the account of the Book of Daniel concerning the miraculous appearance of a warning writing during the progress of the feast on the eve of the capture of Babylon must be considered as a pure invention of the author, or perhaps an echo of history. Although practically no details are known concerning the time of the fall of Babylon, and there is no parallel record of such a portent as is described in Daniel II. it still seems probable, as will appear from the following, that a basis of fact underlies the Biblical narrative.

The first question that should be asked is whether it is possible that such an event took place. It has already been noticed above that there may be a historical background for the Biblical account for the feast of

is.aurar (See chapter 3, page 6) and if it be admitted that such a festival was actually held near the close of the reign of Nabonidus, there is nothing to prevent the supposition that a warning may have been given during its progress.

There are three difficulties to be explained however, which the Biblical account presents.

A. Why the writing was unintelligible to the Chaldean priests.

B. The true meaning of the warning.

C. How and by whom the portent was produced.

A. If such an inscription appeared at the Babylonian Court it is certainly reasonable to suppose that it was written in the Babylonian language and in the cuneiform character.

The inability of the King and his lords and even of the skilled scribes to read the inscription ~~to read the inscription~~ is probably to be explained by the fact that it appeared in ^b _A very complicated and unorthodox ^{form} cuneiform (See Chapter 1, page 6) This view is similar to that advanced by the Chaldeans who thought that the portent was a supernatural or magic sign (See above page 6) The only objection to this view is that the Bible does not say that the writing

in Daniel. ~~Q11~~ The substance was because it was in a foreign
language and character is hardly legible. Had the warning
been written in a foreign language, the effect of the interpretation
would have been to a great extent lost on the King. The
point seems to be, that directly the explanation was given
by Daniel, the King understood it perfectly, which would
probably not have been the case had it appeared in a foreign
idiom. A second consideration which should not be for-
gotten is, that in a cosmopolitan court like the Babylonian
a foreign language would have probably been immediately recognized.

If then the writing appeared in the Babylonian lan-
guage, it was in all probability not only in the ideographic
character but also in a form which would not have been eas-
ily recognized even by those who were trained in such mat-
ters. The view that the substance must have been originally
in Babylonian is strengthened by the fact that it can be re-
produced in the form of a photograph in a little more care.

The Ammanian tablet contains in the 11th. verse
of the 11th. chapter reads *pa-ru-ru-ru-ru-ru-ru*

As stated above, the tablet is in a very poor state of con-
servation, and is in a very poor state of preservation. It

Note 26-- Passives (11) internal vowel changes have not been lost in Assyrian but are not developed. The active and passive participles are not sharply distinguished, the difference being merely arbitrary. For examples of passive participles compare the frequent "Kima labirišu šaṭir-- written like its original " and "Šapax op̄ru, dust is spread". See Jras. 1378, 244. Hart. The frequent passive meaning of the ^{distinctive} participles may be compared in this connection. See Zb. 11.

Note 27-- Note that a number of forms like qanû, suffer apocope of the long final vowel in the construct state. Thus qanû-qan. Sadû, mountain--sad. Mašû, hearer--naš. Rašû, possessor--raš. Rabû, great--rab.

Note 2 -- Saqalu may be a snaphel form from *galu* = bell etc. We have *Šakanu*, probably from "𐤱𐤳" and *Šavaru*, from "𐤱𐤭"; in the case of *Šaqale* the *š* is *q*, appearing in Arabic as *ق*, while the *q* of the snaphel is *q̣*, because we find it in Arabic as *ق̣*. We may explain this by supposing that such a form as *ق̣𐤱𐤳*, with *ق̣*, was borrowed from a dialect where the original *q* of the snaphel was lisped like *q̣*. Compare the case of *q̣𐤱𐤳𐤱*; see above note ^a to verse 7 and Bal. 181. note 2.

te 29--

According to group
as the signs to read in this order "it would be almost
impossible to arrive at the true meaning of the mysterious
sentence. Thus, the first combination $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$
may have twenty different meanings:- such, for example,
as "alaktic" = way, going, "monche" = number, "Sanje" = forest
etc etc. See Brannow 5764 - 5781, & 5797, 5798.

The second combination, $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}}$ (= might
signify " is fit, suitable, cf. Nim. op. 67. 18), while
the meanings of $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}} \overline{\text{Y}}$ can be multiplied almost
indefinitely. Thus, it would be possible to read
"assure", "praise" in any form "xxn", "sice", "elle" bright
any part of the verb "mureu" "turne" "turn" etc. etc.
See Brannow 1728 ft.

One possible reading for the sentence in this distorted
form would be:

~~not~~ (ans) turn

The first is fit for

This is hardly a good parallel. A better illustration
of the nature of the mysterious sentence may be found
in the turkey Latin phrase ^{often} given in Latin Primers on
"arming" - "no bis per pontem" - I swim down through
the bridge "et iterabit magister" the goose swims more
than three times "Pater noster in silvanis noster lupus est
et dicitur furem" rather go into the wood for a wolf is
asking they here it is hardly necessary to mention
the familiar "mex miter est miter sus."

translates it as " "

By the way, it is a strange idea, in some sort of way, in the light of the fact that the warning is given in a place where it is clear as to the true meaning and application of the warning should not be discussed.

E. The mysterious sentence consists of three names of which's grouped together in a strange order, the two great ones separated by the lesser: mina, shekel and half-mina. It may be supposed that beneath these terms lies some typical meaning which is not fully brought out in the explanation of the sentence by Daniel. The interpretation which the writer puts into the mouth of the prophet is based on a paranomasia. The mina (סֵפֶה) is explained by סֵפֶה - "count" "God has counted thy sin and finished it."

shekel (שֶׁקֶל) is explained by שֶׁקֶל - "weigh" "Thou shalt be weighed in the balance and found wanting."

Half-mina (חֲמִישֵׁי סֵפֶה) is explained by חֲמִישֵׁי - "divide" "Thy kingdom has been divided (חֲמִישֵׁי) and given to the kings and their sons."

In the following section, the writer continues with the same

Note 30--The passage is as follows:

וְיָבֹא בֶן מִנָּה אֶל מִנָּה בֶן מִנָּה אֶל מִנָּה בֶן מִנָּה אֶל מִנָּה
בֶּן מִנָּה אֶל מִנָּה בֶּן מִנָּה אֶל מִנָּה

It is good that a mina, son of a half-mina, come to a mina,
son of a mina, but not that a mine, son of a mina, should
come to a mine, son of a half-mina.

Note 31--It is well known that the weight mina contains 60
shekels, this shekel serving also as the smallest gold unit;
i. e. a gold shekel weighed one sixteenth of the weight mina.
The gold mine on the other hand contained only 50 shekels,
so that it was equal only to five-sixths of the weight mina.
Compare Verhandlungen der physikalischen Gesellschaft zu
Berlin, published February, 1890 page 35. C. F. Lehmann;
also Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesell-
schaft March 1889 page 245. and Encyclopedia Britt. 17.
Vol. and the passage Askt. 55. 42. (Cibit) 1 ma-na, 12 'siqli
tan--the interest of one mina is twelve shekels; i. e. at
20 per cent.

Emblems, the ivy leaf, the olive branch, the dagger.

Nebuchadnezzar might well be called the King. As has already been noticed, he was not only practically the founder of the Babylonian empire, but really the one greatest name of the time. The author of Daniel all throughout the 5th. Chapter is perfectly right in comparing him with the insignificant last King. The two chief points in the later Babylonian history are the rise and development of the Empire under Nebuchadnezzar and its final overthrow under the last King, so that, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, (Page 88) the Biblical author in choosing Nebuchadnezzar as the father of Belshazzar although incorrect as to detail, was in general harmony with the real history of the Babylonian period.

The Medes and Persians were the people who destroyed the unity of the Babylonian power and divided between them the great Empire of Nebuchadnezzar. The Medes, who had obtained a certain independence previous to their subjugation to the Persians, are herein given in Chapter 6, attached to the fall of the Babylonian Empire. The Greeks, who subjected Assyria and Persia to their power, are here placed in Chapter 7, attached to the fall of the Persian Empire. Although the author is considerably indebted to the Greek and East

they were certainly never a world power until their union with the Persians under Cyrus. This combination was sufficient to subjugate the entire west and to establish an empire which lasted for centuries.

The mysterious sentence if understood in this light would have been peculiarly applicable at a time like the Feast described by the Author of Daniel. Towards the end of the reign of Nabonidus it must have been evident that the days of his power were numbered, and it seems quite within the range of possibility that such a warning should have been given. Admitting first, that an explanation is possible for the difficulty experienced by the wise men in interpreting the enigma, and secondly, that such a warning would have been especially applicable to the time, the last difficulty which remains to be encountered is the question how and by whom the portent could have been produced.

C. How such an inscription was produced must of course remain unsolved. It has been considered rather significant, however, that the writing appeared opposite the light. In view of this statement the suggestion has been advanced that it may have been written beforehand in an invisible ink, which was brought out by the heat of the lights. (Prof. Haupt in his lectures.) Although it is not improbable that

Note 32.---It is worthy of notice that as early as 1806 this idea was suggested. See Bertholdt, commentary 353. where he suggests that the writing was either an attempt of some loyal servants of the king, to let him know of his danger, or a warning of conspirators.

ink of this nature was known to the ancients, especially to the Babylonian Magicians who must have been familiar with all sorts of tricks, the matter must remain an open question. (The opinions of the orthodox vary very slightly. Pabbi Saadia thought that the Angel Gabriel wrote the inscription. Compare Thube quoted Bertholdt 346. Calvin believed that it was written by God himself. Compare Hävernick 180 etc .)

It has already been noticed above that a powerful conspiracy was in all probability concerned in the fall of Babylon. In fact we are forced to believe from the apparent ease with which the city and empire were taken that the invaders had auxiliaries among the ranks of the Babylonians. It has been mentioned also that both the priests and the Jewish populace would have had cogent reasons for being opposed to Nabonidus. If this were the case, and if such a feast as that described in Daniel 5 really took place, it seems a natural supposition that the warning may have been produced by the agency of the conspirators.

The tone of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel, however, seems to show beyond doubt that the biblical writer considered the portent a miracle sent from God to warn the impious king of his impending punishment. The Author of Daniel accordingly

In spite of the uncertainty, offering them a reward more or less expected explanations proposed.

makes use of the account to serve as a diatribe against Antiochus Epiphanes.

The biblical record seems quite consistent in making Daniel competent to interpret the riddle. It is not impossible that the Author of Daniel knew that the writing appeared in some rebus-like form which the Jewish prophet owing to his special training in the "חֲזוֹן נִבִּי" was able to solve at once. It can hardly be conjectured however that the probably real ideographic character of the inscription was known to a Maccabaeen Jew. It can only be supposed that the late writer having at his disposal the account of the appearance of such an inscription during a festival of the last king of Babylon made use of the story for his own parnetic purpose.

An echo of history certainly seems to be present in the record of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel. Not only is the attention attracted by The preservation of the name of Belshazzar, the approximately correct statement regarding his death and the striking agreement with the biblical account concerning the last feast of the record of Herodotus, but it also seems not impossible that the ^{story of the appearance of} mysterious sentence itself may be based on historical fact.

The Book of Daniel loses none of its beauty or force because we are bound, in the light of modern criticism, to

consider it a production of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor should conservative scholars exclaim that the historical accuracy of the work is thus destroyed. If the production be properly understood it must be admitted that the Author made no pretense at exactness of detail. To assert furthermore that with the Book of Daniel the whole prophetic structure of the Old Testament rises or falls seems as illogical as the statement of Sir Isaac Newton that he who denies Daniel's prophecies undermines christianity.

(Compare in this connection a review by the Right Rev. H. M. Jackson, of Cheyne's Article Daniel in the Encycl. Brit. ---Virginia Seminary Magazine, February 1892, pages 149-159.)

If we consider that the prophecies were never intended to be more than a historical resume, clothed for the sake of greater literary vividness in a prophetic guise, it is hard to see how such a conclusion affects the authenticity of utterances of other authors which may have been meant to be predictions of the future. If viewed in this light the work of the writer of Daniel can certainly not be called a forgery but merely a moral and political pamphlet.

It should certainly be possible for intelligent christians to consider the book just as powerful, viewed, according to the Author's intention as a consolation to God's peo-

ple in their dire distress at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as if it were. What an ancient but mistaken tradition has made it, really an accurate account of events belonging to the close of the Babylonian period.

-----oo0oo-----

Note 33.---For the legends regarding Cyrus in general and especially the account of Herodotus, compare Floigl *Cyrus & Herodot.*, Bauer *Die Cyrussage*, Schubert *Herodot's Darstellung der Cyrussage*, Breslau 1890. For the chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses compare Tiele, *Gesch.* 483 and literature cited, note 2. Eüdinger, *Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus* 39. 1884, Oppert and Menant *Doc. Jurid.* 262.

Note 34.---The date 538 instead of the usual 539 (see Unger *Cyax. & Astyages* 52. Noldeke, *Aufsätze* 26.) is necessitated by the nine months' reign of Labaši-Marduk, unmentioned in the Ptolemaean Canon, (compare note 18. p. 155.) which brings the date of the Fall forward by one year.

Note 35.---Unger *op. cit.* 52. Tiele 424.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Additional Note A.

The Chronology of Cyrus.

The last contracts of the reign of Nabonidus are dated in the month of Iyar (April-May) 538 B. C. Babylon was taken on the 16th of Tammuz (July 15th), when Nabonidus ceased to reign. Cyrus entered the city, the 3rd of Marchešvan (October 27th) evidently assuming the reins of government at once, as the first known contract of his reign is dated in the following month in his commencement year ; i. e. Kislev 16th (December 9th.) 538. His official first year did not begin until five months later ; i. e. Nisan, 538.

There is some confusion as to the exact duration of Cyrus' reign. Although ^{the} Ptolmæan Canon gives him nine years as king of Babylon, a contract exists, dated in his tenth year, giving him the title "King of Babylon and the Lands." (See Tiele Gesch. 423, citing Strassmeyer.) It is possible that this may be an error, or that the writer may have confused the last year of Nabonidus or the commencement months of Cyrus with the first year of Cyrus' reign. The twenty-nine years of Herodotus l. 214. and the thirty years of Ctesias (Compare Cicero Div. l. 46. Justin l. 9. 30.) attributed

to Cyrus refer to his combined reign over Ansan and Babylon. It is therefore probable that Cyrus began to reign in Ansan either twenty or twenty-one years before he captured Babylon ; i. e. about 558 or 556; see Evers op. cit. 39. who sets his birth about 590.

B.

The Genealogy of Cyrus.

Cyrus was descended from the same stock as Darius Hystaspes. Their respective genealogies as given in the Cylinder and the Behistun inscription may be seen from the following table:

	Cyrus son of	Darius son of	
Genealogy of the Cylinder.	Cambyses "	Vistaspa "	Genealogy of the Behistun inscription
	Cyrus "	Arsama "	
	(Šišpiš) Teispis	(Caišpiš) Ariaramna "	

The genealogy of the Achaemenian kings presents a hitherto unsolved problem, of which a brief statement may be interesting.

Darius Hystaspes in the Behistun inscription traces his

Note 36.---Compare Spiegel, *Altperssische Keilinschr.* 3.
1881.

Note 37.---Herodotus 7. 11. *Μὴ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐκ Δαρείου*
τοὺ Ὑστασπείου τοὺ Ἀρσάκειος τοὺ Ἀχαιμανέως τοὺ Τείωνος
ἄλλῃθεν τὸν λαόν τοὺ Λαγιδύρεα τοὺ Τείωνος τοὺ Ἀχαιμένειος γεννῶν

Note 38.---Herodotus 3. 70. see Spiegel *op. cit.* 83.
Halevy *Melanges* 6.

descent from Hakhamanis (Achaemenes) giving five generations of his ancestry but adding that eight of his family were formerly kings and that he was the ninth. The eight generations can be made up from Herodotus who in his ancestry of Xerxes added three names between the Gaîspîš (Teispis) and Hakhamanis (Achaemenes); Teispes 1., Cambyses, Cyrus, Teispis 2., Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, Darius. Hystaspes, however, according to Herodotus, ^{was} merely a governor in Persia, though of good family and it is also probable that Arsames and Ariaramnes were never kings, nor are they called so in the Behistun inscription.

Comparing the record of the Cyrus Cylinder with the list of Herodotus, still further difficulties arise, as will be seen from the following table :

Herodotus & Beh.	{	Hakhamanis--Achaemenes	
		Teispis ?	
Names given only by Her.		Cambyses ?	
		Cyrus ?	
		Teispis	
Gen. of the Beh. and Her.	Ariaramnes	Cyrus I.	Gen. of the Cyrus Cylinder.
	Arsames	Cambyses I.	
	Hystaspes	Cyrus the Great	
	Darius	Cambyses II.	

Note 39.---Winckler Uag. 28 omits Achaemenes the "Ahnher" but he is especially mentioned by the account of Darius as the first of his house.

Note 40.---Diodorus Lib. 31. 19. also speaks of a Cambyses father of Cyrus, and anterior to Theispes.

Note 41.---Amiaud Melanges Renier 260. accepts the genealogy of Herodotus and conjectures that the second Theispes may have been the first king of Persia to rule over Ansan.

Note 42.---Floigl includes them, (op. cit. 22) considering them kings of Hyrcania, (see p. 6-7.) and, in order to bring down the total, sacrifices Cyrus I., grandfather of Cyrus the Great. But the latter distinctly designates his grandfather as great king, king of Ansan ; Cylinder 21 :

Note 43.---Halevy Museon 2. 43. and Melanges 8. Winckler Uag. 128 hints at this. See in this connection Delatt. Medes 53.

Omitting the three immediate ancestors of Darius and only counting the other line, beginning with Cambyses II., son of Cyrus the Great, nine kings of Darius' family will be found instead of eight.

On examining the record of Herodotus (Teispes ? Cambyses ? Cyrus ?) and comparing it with the account of the Cylindus, (Theispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Cyrus) it seems probable that Herodotus has misunderstood the genealogies, placing two parallel lines in consecutive order, omitting the Cyrus after Teispes and introducing a second Teispes. Adopting this supposition and omitting the Teispes, Cambyses and Cyrus of Herodotus, the following family tree can be presented :

Achaemenes

Teispis

Ariaramnes	Cyrus I.
Arsames	Cambyses I.
Hystaspes	Cyrus (the Great)
Darius	Cambyses II.

Here again, if the three immediate predecessors of Darius be omitted as non-kings, there is an ancestry of only six, whereas if they be included there is a total of nine. Of course the easiest way out of the difficulty is with Halévy to cut the knot by calling Darius a liar and asserting

Note 44.---Spiegel adds before Achaemenes and Teispes two supposed kings of the same name. If Achaemenes, the founder of the dynasty, be conceived of as mythical (the *h'ha* see Budinger op. cit. p. 6. Winckler Uag. 28.) and as never having reigned (Meyer Gesch. 559.) it will be necessary to supply three supposititious kings. For other opinions concerning this problem compare Rawlinson Jras. 1880. Oppert Medes 113 b. 162 b. refuted however by Spiegel op. cit. 84. Budinger 6. Evers 26 ff. etc., etc.

Note 45.---Inscription of Naqsch-i-Rustam 8. "I am Darius the great king, etc. son of Vistaspa the Achaemenian, a Persian son of a Persian, an Aryan son of an Aryan." Beh. 1. 14. 61 Darius says that the government, which Gaumata the Magian usurper took from Cambyses, had been in the family from most ancient times. This can only refer to the rule over Persia.

Note 46.---Halévy, Revue des Etudes Juives 1880. Comptes rendues de l'Academie des inscriptions, 7. 1880. Melanges 6., also Sayce Herod. 386; 7. 1880. 167-172. See however Delattre Medes 45-54 who refutes all of Halévy's theories in this connection.

that he purposely gave a wrong genealogy.

Concerning the early ancestry of the Achaemenians, practically all that can be decided at present is, that, if as seems necessary, Ariaramnes, Arsames and Hystaspes be omitted, two unknown kings must be included in the list in order to make up the total of eight claimed by Darius.

As will be seen from the above, the descent of Cyrus the Great is perfectly clear up to Theispes and that Theispes was not only an ancestor of Darius Hystaspes, but also an Achaemenian and an Aryan, is shown by the Persian inscriptions. Cyrus was therefore not of Elamite origin or naturalization, as some have sought to show, but an Aryan of Aryan descent, according to the opinion of the ancient writers both biblical and profane. Not only is Cyrus called King of Persia in the Babylonian inscriptions (see below page 101) but the testimony of the biblical writers as well as of Herodotus who drew from Greek, Lydian, Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian sources point to the same fact. (Compare the Scriptural references to Cyrus as a Persian or king of Persia. Daniel 6. 25. 2 Chron. 36. 22. 23. Ezra 1. 1. 2. 7. 8 : 3. 7 : 4. 3. In Ezra 5. 13. he is called king of Babylon. See in this connection Delattre Meades 46. 49.)

Note 47.---The place is specified either as al Anšan (city of Anšan) or mat Anšan, 5R. 64. 29. (country of Anšan) indifferently. The city and country evidently bore the same name. It is mentioned in the astronomical tablets in connection with Subartu. Compare Delattre "Cyrus dans les Mon. Assy. 2. and for Subartu ZA 1. 196.

Note 48.---Jras 12. Rawlinson; Sayce Tsba 3. 475. thought that it was the part of Elam on the Persian Gulf. Compare Fresh Light 180. Meyer Gesch. 493. and 396.

Note 49.---Delattre Medes quoted Weissbuch, Anzanische Inschr. 124 and also 123.

Note 50.---De Sarzec, Decouvertes en Chaldée pl. 19.

C.

A N S A N.

The country of Anzan, or Anšan, over which Cyrus and his three ancestors ruled has excited numerous conjectures. (Compare Evers op. cit. 30 ff. and literature there cited.)

Some critics have considered it identical with Elam, following the syllabary 2R. 47. 18. An-du-an (ki) As-sa-an---Elam-tu, others thought that it was a city in Persis. (See Unger op. cit. 65.) That the name cannot be synonymous with Elam is shown in Taylor's Sennacherib 5. 31, where it is recorded that the king of Elam leagued against Assyria with a number of smaller states, among which was Ansan. The latter therefore must have been an independent state, but was probably at that time tributary to Elam, as 2R. 47. 18. seems to show. In early days it appears to have been a feeble power as it succumbed to the attacks of princes like Gadea (Amiaud Zk. 1. 249.) and Matabbil of Durilu (Winckler Hag. 11. 156. 157.) In the classical authors there is no mention of the place, but the Arab, Ibn el Hauim (Kitab el Fihrist 12. 22. quoted Jras. 12. 70.) speaks of an ⁱⁿ in the district of Taster (Shuster) which is probably identical with the Anšan of the Achae-

Note 51-- See above note 46. ^UJS

Note 52-- Evers op. cit. 39; Winckler ^UMag. 128. Amiaud, Melanges renier 260. note 3, refers the prophecy of the overthrow of Elam in Jeremiah 49. 34. to the conquest of that country by the Persians. Note that Ezâkiel 32. 24. speaks of Elam as a conquered people. Compare Meyer Gesch. 560.

Note 53--The language of Ansan was Elamitic; cf. Weisbach 124. 125. Amiaud, Melanges renier 249. thought that Ansan was the most ancient part of Elam.

menians.

The title of king of Ansan proves nothing against the Persian origin of Cyrus, whose family may have acquired this Elamitic country by conquest, perhaps under Teispes, or some previous king. It is well known that in earlier times Ansan was ruled by a non-Aryan non-Semitic native line, and it may be supposed that all the Elamitic provinces, after the complete overthrow of Elam by Assurbanipal, were an easy prey

- to the Assyrian invader. (See Delattre-Medes 51-52.)

With reference to the fact that the Elamitic Susa was the seat of the Persian power which has been cited by Halévy (See Delattre, Medes 52.) as an evidence against the Persian origin of Cyrus, Strabo has given a satisfactory explanation. Susa, after its fall, became like a part of Persia. After the conquest of Media, Cyrus and the Persians, owing to the distant situation of their own country, established the seat of their Government in the more central Susa, the chief City of Susiana, which is not so far from Babylon and the other provinces. (Strabo 15. 3. 2. quoted Delattre 1. c.) Now as Delattre has pointed out had Susa been then hereditary capital we would expect to find the Elamitic language

Note 54--Compare Behistun l. 14. 41: 2. 47. in the inscriptions of the second sort l. 15., "-Parsan. see Oppert, Medes 265, Schrader Kat. 372.

Note 55-- Compare Amiaud, Melanges. renier 246. 265. This seems the most satisfactory explanation, Meyer Gesch. 602. attempts no solution of the problem. Halevy Melanges. 116. believing in the Elamitic origin of Cyrus, considered that the term King of Parsu was used only by foreigners.

Note 56-- Compare Tiele Gesch. 27. 195. 241. 193. 203. Hommel Gesch. 719. 739. 740. 744.

Note 57-- Tiele 304. suggested that the name Parsua may have been applied to Persia as early as the time of Sennacherib -- because

Note 58-- Amiaud Op. cit. 255. thought that after the time of Sargon

as the usual idiom of the Achaemenian inscriptions. It seems probable that the Achaemenian kings and the Persians had at some unknown period of their early history conquered and annexed to Persia proper the Elamitic country of Ansan. When, with the conquest of Media by Cyrus, a larger territory was at their disposal, a proper capital being necessary for the new empire, the splendor of the old Elamitic Susa influenced Cyrus to establish it as his head-quarters.

The name Parsu which is found in the annals is apparently used synonymously with Ansan. Cyrus appears to have been called indifferently by the Babylonians, either king of Ansan or of Parsu. (See ^{column 1} column 2, line 1. and line 15. Whether the name Parsua (Parsuas) which in early days seems to have been applied either to Northern Media or to some part of that territory can be identified with the later Parsu--Persia must remain a matter of doubt. It does not seem impossible however that the old Parsua may have been the home of Persian tribes who, migrating to the South carried the name to the regions about Elam. It is not unlikely that the names Ansan and Parsu after the Persian invasion of the former territory became synonymous in much the same manner as Gaul and France, Britain and England.

no more is heard of Parsua, an emigration caused by the encroachments of the Assyrians may have taken place to Ansan.

(?) Hommel Gesch. 783. suggested that the application of Parsu to the country South of Media, only began to be current in the reign of Cyrus (?)

Note 59-- Compare Amiaud Melanges Renier 246.

A P P E N D I X I.

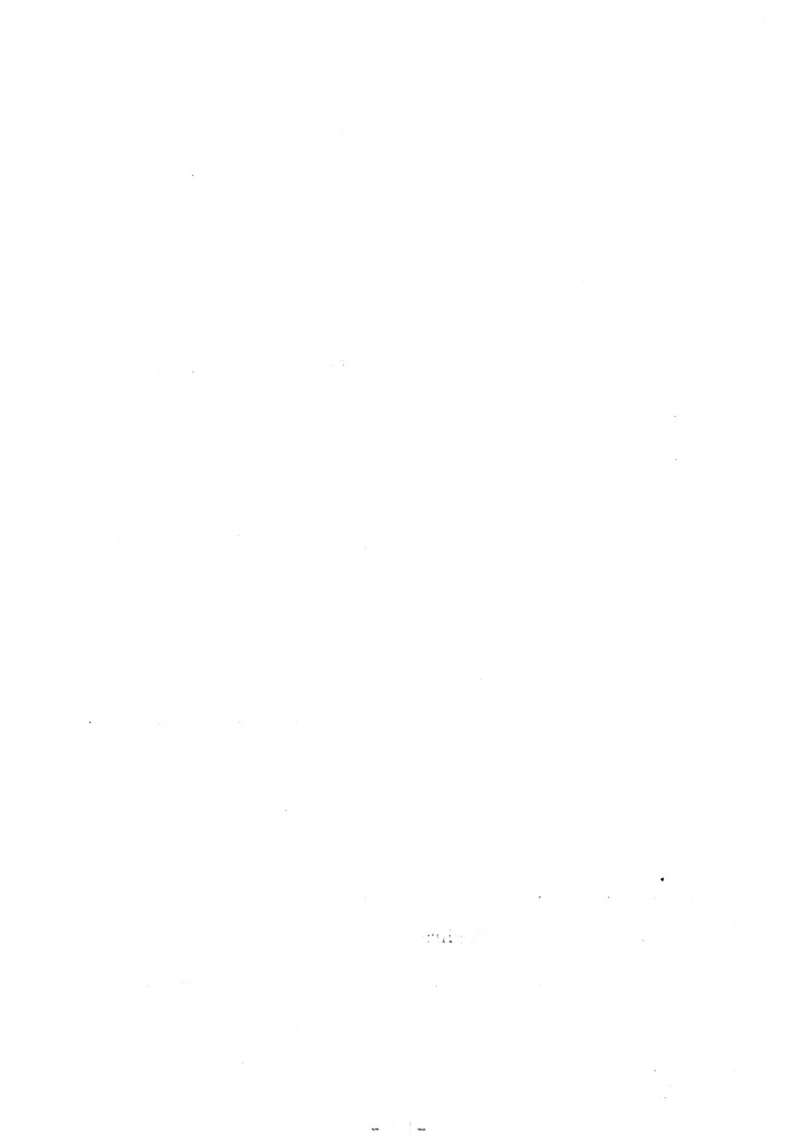
THE CYRUS CYLINDER AND ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

-----000-----

The Cyrus Cylinder is written on a barrel of unbaked clay, 9 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in end diameter and $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches in middle diameter.

Hormuzd Rassam, in the Victoria Institute Feb. 2, 1881, reported it as being the official account of the capture of Babylon.

The Text was published in 1880 by Pinches in the 35th plate of the fifth volume of Sir H. Rawlinson's Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, and lately in Abel-Winckler's Keilschrifttexte p. 44 f. The first treatment of the inscription, transcription, translation, and commentary was published by Sir Henry Rawlinson J.R.A.S. XII. 70-97, 1880. Since that time translations have been given by Sayce, "Fresh light from the Ancient Monuments," 172 ff. Floigl, "Cyrus and Herodotus," 1881, Halevy Melanges - "Cyrus et le Retour de la Captivité," p. 4 ff. Tiele, "Assyrische und Babylonische Geschichte" p. 470 ff, a paraphrase; Hommel, "Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens." Lyon, "Assyrian Manual" 39-41, transcription. Eb. Schrader, "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek" III pt. 2, pp. 120-127, a transcription and translation based on a



collation from a photograph; Delitzsch in "Müddter's Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens 1891, p. 259, ff, a paraphrase and finally O.E. Hagen, "Feitrag zur Assyriologie" pp. 205 ff, 1891, transcription, translation and commentary from an entirely new collation, and R.P. V. p. 144 ff, a new translation by Sayce.

The Annals of Nabonidus are engraved upon a gray fragment of unbaked clay in double columns front and back. The tablet, as we have it, is about 4 inches high and 3 1/2 inches in breadth. For the exact measurements see B.A. II. 206. Notice of the inscription was given by T.G. Pinches, 1880. See T.S.B.A. pp. 130, 176, (cf. also Athenaeum 1881- p. 215. Sir H. Rawlinson who considered it the Annals of Cyrus and Sayce, Academy March 13, 1881, XVII. 198.)

The Text of the inscription is given by H. Winckler U.A.G 1880, p. 154, and again lately from afresh collation by O.E. Hagen, 1891, Ba II. p. 248 ff. whose copy differs very slightly from that of Winckler.

The first translation of the document which was made by Mr. Pinches appeared T.S.B.A. VII. 1882, pp. 153-169 and was accompanied by an introduction, transcription and notes. The same scholar submitted lines 1-4 of c. II. to a new collation, the result of which appeared P.S.B.A. V. 10.

Translations and paraphrases of the document have been given by the authors mentioned above, as having presented translations etc., of the Cyrus Cylinder; the latest being that of O.F. Hagen, B.A. II. 2, 215 ff, with full commentary.

The following translation of the Cylinder and Annals of Nabonidus is based on no fresh collation but has been appended merely for the convenience of the reader. As the work of Hagen depends on the latest collation of these documents, frequent reference has been made to his publication, more especially in the mutilated passages.

The numbers refer to the textual and the letters to the additional linguistic notes.

- 1 Hagen - his + +
- 2 Hagen supplies "ma - tu - u" - a weak one, cf. B.A.II.230.
- 3 tamšilu - ^{šū}likeness, similarity, cf.
Tamšil Xamanim I. 47, C. VI. 14, The form "tan-šil"
occurs Sarg. Cyl. 64, cf.
- 4 Hagen - i - te - ni - ib - bu - uš^v - he made.
- 5 Hagen - "pa - ra - aq" "Ein sie entehrendes Gabot."
The word may be either "~~parsu~~" or "parcu;" "~~parsu~~" can
mean a chamber or shrine cf. Tig. VII. 106, anything
~~barred off~~ cf. ch. IV. p. "parcu" -- command is well known-
H.T. 116, Z.B. 14, Asb. IV. 100: X. 62.
- 6 Hagen - "u ana nakritim." The traces in Winckler's K.T.
seem to be "limut - tim nakritim" - hostile evil.
"Nakritu" as substantive does not occur cf. B.A. II. 230.
- 7 Hagen adds uad(dima) - he appointed.
- 8 Hagen supplies (ša)- qi - še a - šu - uš - su(?).
- 9 Hagen. nis - e - su.
- 10 A. Hagen "(and left) their region."
- 11 Hagen "Zuwendung"(?)

Note 12--Ibr[^]su-Hagen translates "Sah sie durch". In note 13, he suggests s[^]sina instead of -su (?) but it seems possible to regard the suffix as referring to Cyrus.

Note 13-- Hagen Pa2. 231. "Mit Drangsal."

10. in anger that he (Nabonidus) had caused to enter

Babylon Marduk

turned (?) to all the dwellings whose abode was cast down,

11. and the people of Sumer and Akkad who resembled corpses

he turned to he granted mercy. All the lands he searched through; he saw him

12. and desired the righteous Prince, the favorite of his heart whose hand he took; Cyrus king of Ansan; he called his name; to the kingdom of everything created he appointed him.

13. Kutu, the entire tribe of the Umma Manda he made bow at his feet. The people of the dark heads whom he (Marduk) caused his (Cyrus,) hands to conquer,

14. in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk the great lord, merciful (?) to his people looked with pleasure on his pious works and upright heart.

15. unto his city Babylon he commanded him to go; he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion.

16. His extensive army the number of which like the waters of a river cannot be known, with weapons girded on proceeded beside him.

17. Without strife and battle he let him enter into Babylon; he spared his city Babylon during the trouble.

Note 14--According to Hagen's collation the correct reading is "ina puteku u pakè ". See his explanation page 232. The accepted reading was "ina pušqi u pakè," in need and adversity.

Note 15--

Hagen translated machte mir geneigt (?)

Nabonidus who revered him not he delivered into his hand.

18. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer and Akkad lords and governors bowed before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his coming to the throne, their faces were happy.

19. The Lord who by his aid brings the dead to life, who is universally benevolent with care and protection, he blessed him joyously reverencing his name.

20. I am Cyrus, the king of Hosts, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions,

21. son of Cambyses the great king, king of Ansan, grand-son of Cyrus the great king, king of Ansan, great-grand-son of Teispes, the great king, king of Ansan,

22. of great royal seed, whose government Bel and Nebo love, whose rule they desire as necessary to their happiness. When into the city of Babylon I entered in friendship as an ally

23. with joy and gladness I established my lordly dwelling in the royal palace. Marduk the great lord, made favorable to me the broad heart of the sons of Babylon and daily I cared for his worship.

24. My extensive army proceeds peacefully into the midst

Note 16-- Hagen, Betrübniß,. The word seems to be "Makri-
tim". There are plain traces of the character "ri" before
"tim".

Note 17-- Hagen "dannat habili" the troubled state of Babylon
He reads Ki-kal--dannatu page 232.

Note 18-- H "sighing" ?

Note 19-- I read with Hagen "nitta-(?du ilutišu) cirti kul
(lat matati ?)

Note 20-- Schrader has "ašib nabali." Lyon suggests "ašib-
name." referring to K 246. 2. 13 and Ht. 87. cf. Delitzsch
Zal. 420 note.

Note 21-- So Hagen page 233.

of Babylon. All Sumer and Akkad the noble race I permitted to have no opposition. (?)

25. The interior of Babylon and all of their cities I cared for properly. The sons of Babylon ' ' as much as they desired ' ' and the yoke which was not suitable for them, their dwellings (?)

26. th ir disorder I remedied. I caused their troubles to cease. At my favorable deeds Marduk the great lord rejoiced,

27. and me Cyrus, the king who reverences him and Cambyses the son, the off-spring of my body (and) all my troops he blessed

28. graciously, while we uprightly praise his exalted divinity. (?) All the kings dwelling in royal halls,

29. of all the regions from the upper to the lower sea, dwelling (in all countries?) the kings of the West land, all those who dwell in tents

30. brought me their heavy tribute and in the midst of Babylon kissed my feet. From ' ' as far as Assur, and Susan,

31. Agane, Abunnak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu, as far as

Note 22- For the succeeding extremely mutilated lines see
-Hagen op. cit.

the border of the land of the Quti, the cities across the Tigris whose sites had been established from former times.

32. The gods who live within them I returned to their places and caused them to dwell in a perpetual habitation. All of their inhabitants I collected and restored their dwelling places ^{to}.

33. and the gods of Sumer and Akkad whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the lord of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the command of Marduk the great lord in peace

34 in their own shrines I made them dwell, in the habitation dear to their heart. May all the gods whom I brought into their own cities

35 daily before Bel and Nebo pray for a long life for me, may they speak a gracious word for me and unto Marduk my lord may they say that Cyrus the king who reverences thee and Cambyses his son -----

CYRUS CYLINDER

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

-----C00-----

(A.) 1.7. "Kišursun" - For "Kišurru" cf. V. 31, 3 .f.

"Ki - Šur - (Ri ?) = Mi - Ğir. The meaning seems to be "border" or "side," see Hagen p. 230. The word may have some connection with the Arabic "ḥiṣṣ" - side wall of a house - flap of a tent pl. ḥiṣṣ.

(P.) 11. "Šalamtaš" - cf. "Axrataš" IR. Sarg. 41; V. 34, c. II. 48, and for adverbs in - A Š. D.G. 2.4. - Šalamtu, or reciprocal assimilation Šalandu is the same as 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 - cf. Haupt Z.A. II. 266, N.5; Hebr. III. 187, and B.A. I. 3.

(C.) 1.11. "Tara" - mercy used substantively cf. V. 21, 54. "Tarū" - "Tiranu," - forgiveness, synonym of "Mustaru" V. 21, 57 (B.A. I. 173) and ;.656 = "Kiššu" -- love. Ta-a-a-ra is an intensive form like "Payyan" - "Taiiaru" see Zb - 102.

1. 14, Ta-ru-u- merciful(?) perhaps a derivative from Taru - "to turn towards," i.e. "be gracious to." "Ta-ru-u" may be for "Tarū" an adjectival formation with Nisbe(?) Hagen p. 231 compares V. 47, 17 a "Tarānu" = Ğillu and states that it is doubtful whether "Tarānu" may be a derivative of a stem "Taru" - to shield or not. "Tarānu", however can be a

formation with the ending "Anu" from "Taru" just as "Mutanu" from "Matu" cf. also "Garānu"- running of tears.

It seems necessary to consider with Hagen p.l.c. the "Ša" in "Ep̄setiša Damq̄ata" as a byform of the masculine suffix "Šu," although the explanation is far from satisfactory - cf. however l. 18, Tukultiša(- Šu) and l. 28, Maxarša(- Šu.)

(D.) 1.16. Utaddu cf. IV. 15, 8 a "Kimakakkab Šamami Ul Utaddu" - like the stars of the heaven they cannot be known. cf. also IV. 15. 43/44 a and Deluge (A.L. 3) 106. For the form see K.A.T.(2)73, Haupt.

(3.) c ;.17. "Sapsaqu" - trouble - cf. Z b 95, M. Lyon Sarg. 50, 51. "Amiru Durge u Šapsaqe," he who sees steep and bad paths "also Lay, 43, 1, "Atamar Durug Šapsāqi," - the adjective is Šupsuqu - passim.

(F.) c ;.25. Subatsun - Hagen reads "Šuzuz(?)Su-un," Safel of Nazazu and translates "the yoke . . . was taken from them." This however necessitates supposing an entirely new value "Zuz" for the character "Š". In addition to this the meaning "taken away" for the "Safel" of Nazazu" (given by Delitzsch. Tw. 253) in the passage cited by Hagen op. cit. p. 232, to support his translation, seems by no means certain.

The passage reads "Šarēt Zūmrīsu Ušzīzu" V. 50, 51/52, and is rather to be translated "one, the hair of whose body the evil "Rabīcu" has caused to stand up "(i.e. in fear) and not "taken away."

-----oo0000-----

Note 1--Munne so both Schrader and Hagen. (

Note 2-- -šū iṣṣi hardly the ending of a proper name. See Floigl Cyrus and Herodotus 54. 55. note 1. who thought it referred to Croesus of Lydia.

Note 3-- iṣ-ṣi or iṣ-lim ? Hagen

Note 4-- reading doubtful . I conjectured (e)-zib and find that Hagen has the same.

Note 5-- so with Hagen; probably not a proper name with determinative as Schrader has it

Note--6--for the ideogram see Br. 3036.

Note 7-- following H

Note 8--H. reads ša-di-i why not ša-ki-i?

Note 9--So following H. iblu-ut.

Note 10-- H. Nabu-dan.--u₃ur

Note 11- Tam-tim so H.

THE ANNALS OF NAFOOIPUS.

(Beginning of the reign)

Col. 1.

1. - - - - - his leader- - - - -
2. - - - - his - - - he took away (?) the king - - - -
3. - - - - of their land unto Babylon they brought - - -
4. - - - - ti

(First year)

5. - - - is (ic, iz) xu-xu-ma he did not take away (?)
6. - - ti (of?) their families as many as there were
7. - - - he left. The king collected his troops unto Xume

8. -is-

(Second year)

9. - - - - in the month Tebet he gave notice in Xamatu.

(Third year)

10. - - (i the month) Ab the high mountain Amanus
11. - - - ma, willows, fruit as much as there was
12. - - - their - - unto the mist of Babylon - - -
13. - - - he left and remained alive. In Kislev the king (collected) his hosts.

Note 12 - "Galat" - Passive Participle - to ~~Agon~~

14. -tim Nabu x ucur
15. - - - - the sea of the West land unto
16. - - - - - du-um-mu set up
17. - - - - - numerous troops.
18. - - - - - (the gate) of the City of
Sindini
19. - - - - - killed him.
20. - - - - - (te) -qu
21. - - - - - -troops.

-----oo00oo-----

Col. 2.

1. His troops he col(lected), against Cyrus king of Ansan
to conquer him he went.
2. Against Astyages his troops rebelled and being taken
prisoner to Cyrus (gave him)
3. Cyrus unto Echatana the royal city went. The silver,
gold, treasures, spoil---
4. of the land of Echatana they captured and unto the land
of Ansan he brought. The treasure and spoil which (ud---)
5. The seventh year; the king in Tema, the son of the king

note 13 -- *asas* ~ *as* 4 111 : *ki salmu* can only mean
"as is right" as H. discovered.

the nobles and his army in the land of Akkad. (The king for Nisan)

6. unto Babylon came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out. The New year's festival (remained unperformed.)

7. Sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa (as is right)

8. they gave. The "Urugal" poured libations and guarded the palace.

9. eighth year. ()

10. ninth year. Nabonidus the king in Tema the son of the king, the nobles and army in Akkad. The king for Nisan to Babylon

11. came not. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought forth. The New Year's festival remained unperformed.

12. sacrifices in Esaggil and Ezida to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa, as is right they gave.

13. The month Nisan. The fifth day. The mother of the king died in Durkarasu, which is on the bank of the Euphrates above Sippar.

14. the son of the king and his army mourned three days. A lamentation took place. In Sivan in Akkad.

15. a lamentation for the mother of the king took place. In Nisan, Cyrus king of Parsu collected his troops.

16. below Arbela the Tigris he crossed (?) In Iyyar to the land of ---

17. its king he killed. Its loot he took. His own governor (?) he made go up there.

18. Afterward his governor remained there together with the king (?)

19. The tenth year, the king in Tema, the son of the king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. The king for (Nisan to Babylon came not)

20. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out. The New Year's festival remained unperformed. Sacrifices in (Esagil and Ezida)

21. To the gods of Babylon, as is right, they gave. In Sivan the twenty-first day - - - -

22. of the Elamite (?) in Akkad - - - - the representative
in Erech - - - -

23. the eleventh year, the King in Tema. The son of the
king, the nobles and his army in Akkad. (The king for
Nisan unto Babylon came not)

24. Nebo unto Babylon came not. Bel was not brought out
The new year's festival remained unperformed. Sacrifices
(in Esaggil and Ezida)

25. (To the gods of) Babylon (Borsippa, as is right)
they gave - - -
(18 lines wanting)

Col. 3.

1. - - - - -
2. - - - - - in Adar Istar of Erech - - - - -
3. - - - - - Kings of the land of the sea - - - - -
4. - - - - - (plural) ni - - - - -
5. - - - - - Nebo from Borsippa to go forth - - - - -
6. - - - -ab, the king unto Eturkalama entered in the
month - - - - -
7. - - - - u (?) of the lower sea rebelled - - - - -
8. (Nebo came unto Babylon) Bel was brought out. the new

note 14 --- see p 131 note 12

note 15 --- Hagen reads $S_{AR} S_{AR} = n_j t_{AR} i_2$ - see page 245. For the value "q₂gare" for SAR see Brünner-Me. 4317

note 16 --- Tukku me with "Se" determinative -
see Hagen

year's festival they celebrated as was right. In the month - - - - Šarruturda and

9. the gods of Waradda, Zamana and the gods of Kis, Polit and the gods

10. (of) Harsagkalama entered into Babylon. Until the end of Elul the gods of the land of Akkad.

11. Those who are above as well as those below the firmament (?) entered into Babylon. The gods of Porsippa, Kutu


12. And Sippar entered not. In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle ^{or} Opis.

13. (and?) on the Salsallat to the troops of Akkad. (to the people of Akkad he made) The people of Akkad

14. he subdued. Whenever they collected he slew the people. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle.

15. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day Gobryas, the governor of Gutium and the troops of Cyrus without battle

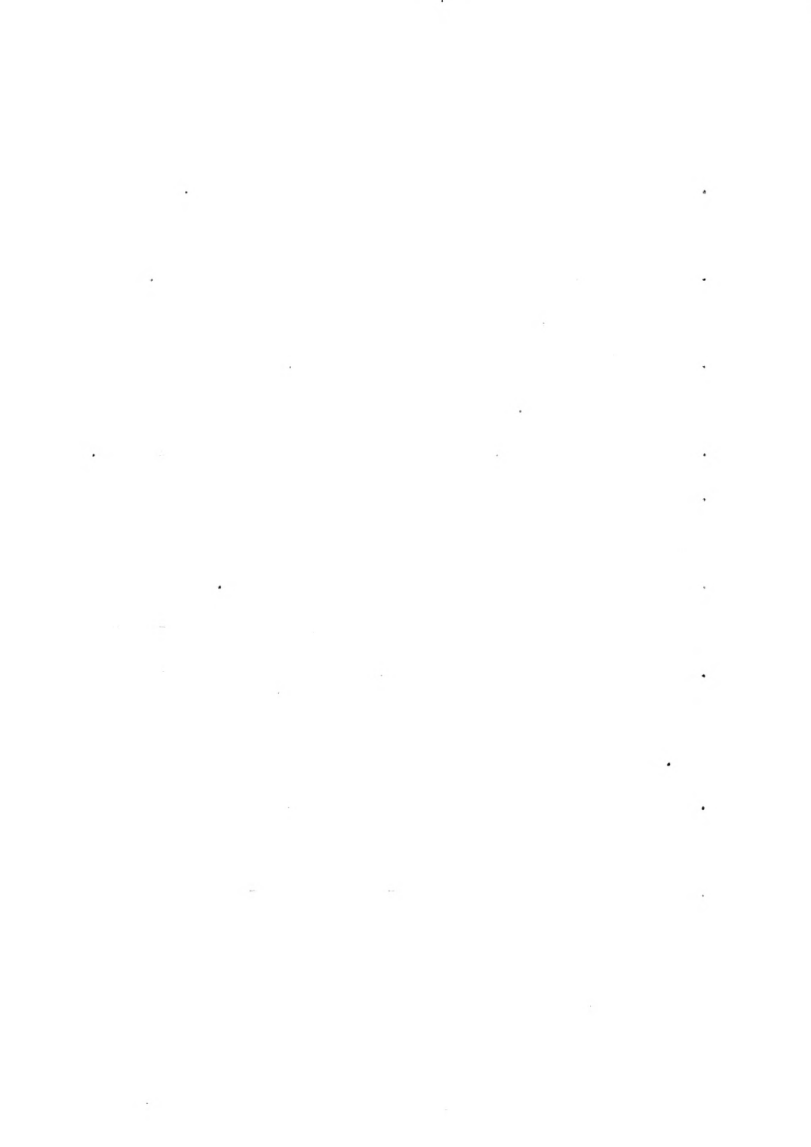
16. entered pabylon. Afterward Nabonidus, although he had shut himself, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month shields (?)

Note 17  - rapier - read "iridium"

Note 18 GAB lab-am = of S6.242 - H. reads all same.

Note 19 The following are too mutilated to give any connected sense.

17. of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esaggil. No
weapons were in Esaggil and in the other
18. temples, and no standard had been brought in.
- Marchesvan third, Cyrus entered Babylon
19. the "Xarine" lay down before him. Peace was con-
firmed to the city. Cyrus pronounced peace to all Babylon.
20. Gobryas, Satrap, as satrap in Babylon he appointed.
21. And from Kislev until Adar the gods of Akkad which
Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon
22. unto their own cities he returned them. On the
night of the eleventh Marchesvan Gobryas against - - - -
23. the son of the king died. From the twenty-seventh
of Adar until the third of Nisan mourning took place in
Akkad.
24. All people cast down their heads. On the fourth day
when Cambyses son of Cyrus
25. went to Esapakalasummu - - - - -



ADDITIONAL LINGUISTIC NOTES

To The

ANNALS OF NABONIDUS.

-----000-----

A.

Col. II. 6.

Isinnu Akitu cf. also Pinches Texts 15, No. 4, 7, the New Year's festival or Zagnaku (= Res Satti, ^{and} ^{and}) See Eih. 23, "Ina Isinim Zagnaku."

Isinnu.-- pl. Isinate (See I.R. 66, 3, 7,) = festival probably from a stem \{ } - cf. Assinnu - a sort of Priest, II. R. 32, 22, e.f. and IV. R. 31, 12.

The form Isittu Sb 263, must as Zimmern remarked (Z.B. 31, N.1) stand for Isintu - a feminine formation from the stem as Isinnu. For Isinnu cf. HT 80, 18; V. 31, 50; Nim. B.P. 75 6: San SM. 119: Asb. S.M. 119, 17: 126, 77.

Akitu - perhaps some sort of sacrifice - (So Hagen B.A. II. 238) - See Eih IV. 7 - bit Niqe Akiti Cirti. It is possible as H. suggests that Akiti Cirti is in opposition to Niqe. For Akitu cf. I.R. 67, c. I. 35, and P.T. 17, 7.

B. 8. "Urugal" - Massu Piti - Sb 13, some sort of priestly office. cf. P.T. 17, 16.

C. 16. Biglat Irab. - According to the latest collation by Hagen (B.A. II. 240) the sign Rab is clear. The meaning

"crossed" is therefore by no means certain. It may signify "approached" - H. cites in this connection the form B.A. II. 61 - 'Erabuni and K.T. 33 - 'Irabanni as the only instances of such a verb.

D. 18. Šulitsu from Šalitu, probably a shaphel feminine formation from Šlū, to go up, i.e. one who is set up, or appointed, with fem. ending as in Pixātu - Prefect, governor.

(Note here that Šalūtu V.R. II. 11 f. and Šulūtu Sanh. IV. 48 are usually understood to be from Šalū to decide Z.B. 99.)

Hagen translates in this passage "Garrison" citing W.B. 427, 11 ff. where Delitzsch demonstrates that "Šulu" can mean "bring soldiers into a fortress."

-----ooOoo-----

A P P E N D I X II.

-----o0o-----

Bibliography of the most important Works relating
to the Book of Daniel quoted or mentioned in this Dissertation.

Abarbanel. (Comm.) In Daniele-- see Bertholdt p. XIII.

האברבנאל על דניאל-- תרגום אברבנאל (עמ' [Ezra] "4). 4'

Ackermann. Comm. 1826.

Andrea. Beweis des Glaubens 1888, Vol. XXIV. pp. 242, 269,
Das Mahl des Belschazzar; Vol. XXV. 48, ff.

Auberlen. Der Prophet Daniel u. die Offenbarung Johannes,
Basel, 1854; 2 Aufl, 1857.

Augusti. Commentary.

Peer. "Richtige Vereinigung der Regierungsjahre welche die
h. Schrift den Königen v. Juda and Israel beileget.

Bertholdt. Daniel aus dem Hebraisch, Aramäischen neu über-
setzt and erklärt; Erlangen, 1806.

Blæk. Einleitung in das alte Testament Berlin, 1888, (also
in the Berl. Z.S. 1821, p. 3.)

Browne. Ordo Sacclorum.

Bugati. Exposition des Johannes Constantinopolitan, p. 57.

Bunsen. Gott in der Geschichte, 1857. 1 Teil p. 302, and pp. 514, 540.

Calvin. Praelectiones Jo. Calvini in librum prophetiarum Danielis Jo. Budaei et Car. Jonuillaei labore et industria exceptae: 1571, Fol.

~~Calvisius.~~

Caspari. C.P. Zur Einführung in das Buch Dan. Leipzig 1869.

Cheyne. Encyclopedia Britannica VI. "Daniel."

Collins. "Das Lehrgebäude vom buchstäblichen Verstande der Weissagungen untersucht, 1726, London.

Corrodi. "Freimuthige Versuche über verschiedene in Theol. and bibl. Kritik einschlagende Gegenstände 1783, p. ff.

Delattre. Salomon, Asurbanipal and Baltasar 1883, Brussels.

Delitzsch. Franz in RB., Daniel.

Derenbourg. The Greek words in Daniel; transl. from the French, Jastrow, Heb. IV. 7, 13.



Dereser. Comm. 1810.

Driver. Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament
London, 1891, p. 458.

Droysen. Geschichte der Hellenen II. 346, ff.

Dustervald. "Die Weltreiche and das Gottesreich nach den
Weissagungen des Propheten Dan. 1891.

Ebrard. Comm. zur Offenbarung Johannis, p. 45.

Eichhorn. Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 3 and 4 Ausgabe.

Ewald. Geschichte, Vol. IV. p. 85.

Ganneau. Mane Thecel Phares et le festin de Balchasar,
Journal Asiatique, Serie 8, 1, p. 36, ff. transl. Heb. 3, 2,
87, --102. *Reper.*

Gesenius. Comm. uber Jesaiah, 1--4.

Goebel. De Belsasaro, 1757.

Grotius. Annotationes ad V. Test. (opp. Theol. t. I. Basel,
1732, fol. p. 453, ff.

Haupt. J.H.U.C. No. 58, 104. J.H.V. Annual Report 1887,
p. 13.

Havernick. Comm. Hambur. 1832; Neue Kritische Untersuchungen über d. K. Dan. 1838.

Havet. La Modernité des Prophetes 1881. Recension Lagarde Mitteil IV.

Hengstenberg. Die Authenticität d. Dan. and die Integrität des Zecharia, 1831.

Herzfeld. Geschichte, I. 154.

Hetzl Wilhelm. Fried. Die Bibel A. and N. Test. (6th part, 1785.)

Hilgenfeld. Comm. 1863.

Hitzig. Comm. 1850.

Hoffmann Georg. Z.A. II. 45, 48, (1887.)

Hoffmann. _____ Antiochus IV. (Dissert.) p. 82, ff.

Hoffmann _____ Introd. in librum Daniels, 1832.

Huetius. Demonstratio Evangelica 472; (Bertholet 51.)

Hupfeld. Exercit. Hor, Spec. II.

Ibn Ezra. Comm. *שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂר בְּרָאשִׁית* *שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂר בְּרָאשִׁית*
א"ר 9

Jachiades . Comm.

Jackson. Rt. Rev. H.M., Virginia Seminary Magazine, Feb.'92.
(on Cheyne Encycl. Britt.)

Jahn. Biblische Archaeologie II. 1, 217.

Jerome. Epistola ad Paulinum and Prooemium ; Commentary on
Dan. and on Isaiah.

Kautzsch. Aramaische Grammatik. See sections on Daniel.

Keil. Comm. 1868.

Kimchi. David, Praefat. in Psalm.

Kirms. Commentatio hist. critica exhibens descriptionem et
censuram recentium de Dan. libro opinionum Jena, 1829.

Kranichfeld. Comm. 1868.

Lagerde. Mitteil. IV. p. 351, ff. (Recension of Havet q.v.)

Laurie. Heb. II. n. 4, Remarks on an Assyrian Precative in
Daniel.

Lengerke. Comm. 1835.

Lenormant. La Magie entre les Chaldeens German Edition, Ch.

VI: Manual of the Ancient History of the East, p. 490.

Lucke. Versuch einer vollstand. Einl. in die Offenbarung
Joh. p. 41, ff. 2 Aufl.

Ludewald. Die Sechs ersten Capitel Dan. nach historischen
Grunden geruift and berichtigt, 1787.

Maimon. More Nebochim II. 41, 19.

Maldonato. (See Bartholdt p. 350.)

Marianus Scotus.-- a Benedictine Monk, quoted Beer q.v. and
Bartholdt, 344.

Marshall. Canon Chron. 596. (regarding Belshazzar.)

Martin. Les civil. Prim. 363.

Meinhold. Die composition des B. Daniel, Diss. 1884:
Beitrage zur Erklarung d. B.D. 1888.

Melanchthon. Commentary 1543.

Menochius.

(See Bartholdt 350.)

Michaelis J.D. Commentary, 1806:
Orientalische Bibliothek p. 187-

Niebuhr. Geschichte Babyloniens and Assyriens. :
Kleine Schriften p. 207.

Noldeke. Z A I 414, 418: Mene, Tekel, Peres. Gott. Gel.
Anz. 1884, p. 1018 referring to N. 1884.

Oehler. Theolog. Lit. Anzeiger 1842, n. 42, 349.

Offerhaus. Spicilegium Hist. Chron. p. 265.

Orelli v. Alttestamentliche Prophet. 455.

Pareau. Institutio Interpret.V. 1, p. 424, 425.

Pfeiffer. Dubia Vex. p. 503 and 505. (See Bertholdt 350.)

Polychron. Commentary.

Porphyrus. *Λογικὴ καὶ ἡθική* Book XII. (alluded to only
in the works of Jerome.)

Pusey. Daniel the Prophet.

Quatremere. Annales de la Philosophie Chretienne 1835.
Memoire sur Darius le Mede at Baitasar.

Redepenning. Theol. Stud. and Krit. 1833; 3, 1835.

Reuss Ed. Geschichte des A.T. Praunschweig 1840.

Riehm. Einleitung II.

Rösch. Theol. Stud. and Krit. H. 2, 1834.

Rosenmüller. Alterthumskunde, I. 2, p. 90.

Royaards. Comm. 1821.

Sa'adia. Commentary.

Sack. Christl. Apologetik, I. Aufl. 1831.

Sanctius. Commentary (Mentioned Havernick 184.)

Sartorius. Hist. Excid. Babyl. Tübingen 1766.

Scaliger. De Emend. Temporum.

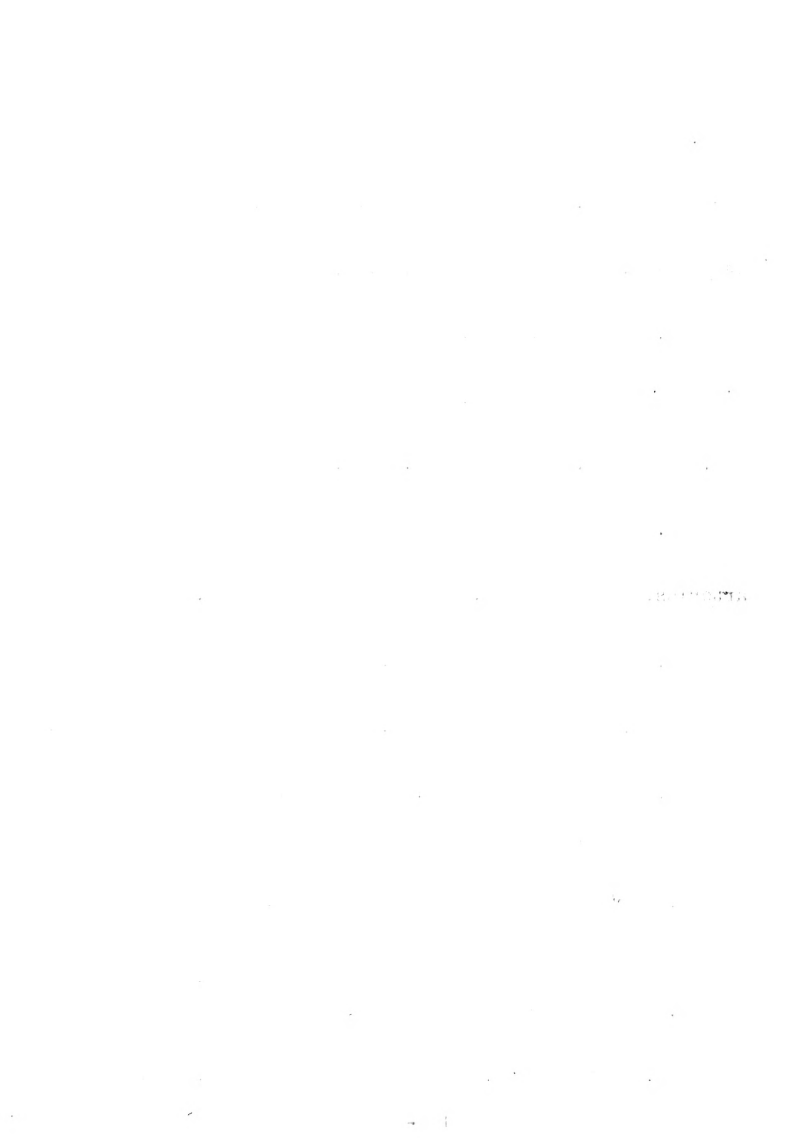
Schlottmann. Composition der A. Flichen Theol. 1839, par 87.

Schrader. Jahrbuch für Prot. Theol. VII. 628, "Der Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezzars."

Schulze. Cyrus der Grosse (Stud. u. Krit. 1853)--on Darius the Median.

Semmler. Untersuch des Canon III.

Seyffarth. Die Aegypt. Alterthümer in Nimrud I. 479.



- Siegfried. Theol. Lit. Zeit. Jan. 10, 1861. Recension of Dusterwald.
- Smith. Dictionary of the Bible.
- Stade. Geschichte Assyriens Vol. II.
- Stahelin. Einleitung.
- Strack. Handbuch der Theol. Wissenschaft 1885, R.E. VII.
- Talbot. R.P. v. 143, (on Belshazzar.)
- Theodoret. Comm. Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰς Ὁρασεις τοῦ Ἡερόκλητου
 Δαυιδίου. Ed. Schulz t. II. part 2, p. 1053.
- Thube. Das Buch d. Proph. Dan. 1797. Schwerin & Wismar.
- Tiele. Geschichte Bab. & Assy. p. 8, 456.
- Unger. Cyaxares & Astyages 1882.
- Vaihinger. R.E. s. v. Darius.
- Venema. Historia Ecclesiastica II.
- Vignolles. Oeuvres II.
- Vitringa. Obs. Sacra. Ch. 2.

Vorstius. Exercit. Acad. IV.

Wolff. Stud. & Krit. 1858.

Zockler. Handbuch I.

Zundel. Comm. 1881.

-----oo00oo-----



B I O G R A P H I C A L S K E T C H .

John Dyneley Prince, the writer of this dissertation was born in New York City on the 17th. of April, 1868. He entered Columbia College, New York, in 1884, and graduated from that institution in June 1888 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His Bachelor's Thesis was entitled "Notes on the Language of the Eastern Algonkin Tribes" and appeared in the American Journal of Philology 9, No. 3. He was appointed representative of Columbia College on the expedition to Babylonia, which was sent out from Philadelphia in the summer of '88 under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.

In this capacity and as General Assistant to the Director, he accompanied the expedition to the East. During his travels in that part of the world he became interested both in the study of Modern Turkish and in the history of Babylonia and Assyria, as revealed by the cuneiform inscriptions. After his return from Asia he went directly to the University of Berlin, where he spent two Semesters attending the Lectures of Professors Dillmann, Kleinert,

Sachau and Schrader. In the autumn of 1890 he came to the Johns Hopkins University, where ^{he} has since pursued Semitic studies under the direction of Professor Paul Haupt.

He received the appointment of Fellow in Semitic during the session of 1891-1892.

The writer takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Professor Haupt for many kindnesses, and especially for the constant guidance and personal attention which have been given him in his studies from the very first.

-----oo00-----

F I N I S

